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THE

LIFE AND PONTIFICATE

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

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BY

SIR ROGER GREISLEY, BART. F.A.S.

"All is written; the deposit, intrusted to ages, has come down to us, and the bitter truth can neither be disguised nor controverted."

VILLIERS ON THE REFORMATION.

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TO

THE REVEREND

GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,

AND VICAR OF NORTH ALLERTON.

My dear Sir,

I dedicate this work to you, as a sincere, although inadequate, tribute of my respect and admiration for that learning and those virtues, the zealous and consistent exercise of which has entitled you to rank among the most powerful champions and brightest ornaments of our Protestant Church.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

ROGER GREISLEY.

London, May, 1832.

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PREFACE.

In the course of the first visit which I paid to Italy, I discovered, from conversation with many distinguished natives of that beautiful but misgoverned country, that Pius VII., on his restoration to the pontifical throne, had not forgiven all his former persecutors; some of whom had been sent into perpetual exile, — some deprived of their offices and honours, — and others imprisoned for life. Among the last class of these unfortunate victims was a certain lawyer, by name Lamberti, who had distinguished himself as attorney-general to the Imperial Government of Rome during the French invasion, and who, on the return of the pope, had written a work to prove how the predecessors of his holiness had gradually usurped the temporal dominion of Rome, by means of treachery and slaughter. This manuscript having come to the knowledge of Gonsalvi, its author and copyist were both condemned to imprisonment; under the infliction of which the first died a few years ago; while the second, having obtained his release by pecuniary influence, is now well known among the merchants of Rome.

Narrations and anecdotes such as this, which constantly assailed me from persons of veracity, led me, on reflection, to imagine that the descendants of the ancient Romans could never have been subdued to the dominion of priests, otherwise than by a continued series of violence and fraud through many ages; and that among them some spirit must still e ist who viewed with indignation the temporal sovereignty of the church, and pitied the debasement of his countrymen, and the religious thraldom in which they were held. In pursuing this train of ideas, by chance there fell into my hands a MS. still more recent than that of Lamberti, — the production of a man of learning who had lately died, and whose effects were sold by his executors. On the perusal of this MS., it appeared to me to elucidate a period of singular interest, and of no less singular obscurity; and I ventured to hope that I might render a service to literature and to mankind, by adapting it, with some suppressions and alterations, to publication in my native tongue.

I was always of opinion that the idolatrous religion of Italy was not the religion of the enlightened classes of that country; and, in examining its history, we find a continued series of learned men persecuted by the papal court for their religious opinions. In vain did Dante, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Diodati, Galileo, Sarpi, and lastly, Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia (names of some celebrity), endeavour to introduce reform into the religion of their country. One of the most interesting chap-

ters in the "History of Italy," by Botta, is that which treats upon the government of Tuscany under Peter Leopold, and on the council of Pistoia, which endeavoured to bring about measures of reform, somewhat superficial, but which would ultimately have led to more important changes. The iron hand of the pontiff kept down that knot of bishops; and monkish vigilance armed itself at once with calumny and deceit. The Catholic religion, as it exists in Italy, is nothing more than the triumph of fraud over ignorance and blindness. Let us look minutely into the matter, and my proposition will be proved.

The history which I am about to submit to the judgment of the public will satisfy the most incredulous, that the monkish and ecclesiastical despotism, which has been established for eight centuries, is detested in Rome itself; and that the day, perhaps, may not be very far distant when the Reformed churches on this side the Alps shall triumph in the extension to the Eternal City, and its minions, of the religious principles which they themselves profess.

If the superstitious and idolatrous ideas introduced into the Roman church, at the period of which this history treats, are not entirely developed in it, some light, at any rate, is thrown upon them by which a general idea and judgment may be formed. In the prospectus of the political affairs of Italy which precedes the Life of Gregory VII., it was not my intention to write a complete history

of the whole country; but to notice, cursorily, that of the Normans, Greeks, and Saracens of Calabria, and some Italian cities of subordinate interest. It was the internal history of Rome which particularly commanded my attention; and the facts which I have collected, satisfactorily refute the sneer of Mr. Percival at the opinion of the "great historian" Gibbon, and prove that it might furnish "one of the most interesting subjects of human contemplation," if an enlightened and unprejudiced mind would consult with care the ecclesiastical writers of these obscure ages, and cull from the fetid mass of fable and imposture the simple flowers of truth.* To write the history of Italy at this period with fidelity, we must not confine ourselves to the dry details of Muratori, the prolixities of Sismondi, or the labours of Giannone; but visit the libraries of Rome, and the archives in the monasteries of the kingdom of Naples and the pontifical states. There still exists in the Barberini library a number of chronicles, hitherto unprinted, which might add a thick volume to the Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. It will not be surprising if I assert, that Tassoni, the author of the Secchia Rapita, wrote an Ecclesiastical History (which, however, was never published), with the view of confuting Baronius. The learned world had no desire to read it. It is alluded to in the life of this author as being written in Latin: whereas I have seen it in four large volumes in the Barberini library, written in a fair

* V. Percival, History of Italy, vol. i. ch. xi. p. 69.

hand, probably the author's own, in good Italian, and interspersed with notes from chronicles which neither Muratori nor other writers had seen or referred to. Of these facts any English traveller may convince himself.

When the continual incursions of the northern nations had destroyed the empire of the West, the population, escaped from the sword of the enemy, always maintained its own religion and laws. The clergy endeavoured to domesticate the haughty conquerors by their influence, and to receive them into their fold. The manner in which the doctrines of hell, of future punishments, and a God of vengeance, were taught in the Christianity of those times, soon reduced the Goths and Lombards to the same state of pusillanimity as the Italians, and enabled Charlemagne to effect the bloodless demolition of their kingdom. But the Hungarians and Saracens continually harassing this miserable and slavish society of priests, excited new energy in their minds; and, as the greater portion of them were governed by Roman laws, they revived the ancient forms, and nominated consuls, tribunes, and a senate. The Carlovingian race being extinct both in France and Italy, the cities of the latter country felt that they were relieved from its oppression, and that the liberty of regulating his own affairs was, next to that of existence, the most valuable gift which Nature had bestowed on man. Thus, when Otho the Great went to Rome, at the invitation of the pope, to assume the imperial

diadem, he found the principal cities erected into republics or independent states, from which he could derive nothing but a tribute. Rome, the greatest in population and in name, contained within its bosom two rival chiefs, who were seeking to destroy each other, and engross the supreme command. These chiefs were the pope and the governor of the senate and people. The first was powerful through the aid of religion and the emperor; the second through that of liberty and reason. When Gregory VII. obtained the pontificate, the emperor changed sides; and, accordingly, after a long and sanguinary struggle, the senate and people gave way. It was impossible, when these two parties had once come into collision, but that one of them should be subdued.

The period at which the Italian cities began to erect themselves into republics is, consequently, by no means so uncertain as some authors would suppose; for the nomination of consuls for the city of Orvieto, according to Manenti, its historian, first took place in the middle of the tenth century. The other chronicles, with the exception of that of Venice,—which, being more immediately attached to the Eastern empire, pursued another course in its political career,—attest the same fact. But, although these cities had established their independence, they could not secure a perpetual tranquillity. Their society was composed of such heterogeneous elements, that, although many of the uncivilised Lombards followed the customs of the

ancient inhabitants, others, despising the Roman laws, lived after their national habits, and considered themselves superior to their fellow-citizens; and these distinctions necessarily created a schism, which became of importance in the absence of any common enemy. The pope and clergy, being considered as the source and support of the Roman institutions, acquired thereby a great ascendancy in those cities where popular governments prevailed; and when the emperor became opposed to the pope, he was, of course, supported by the Lombard counts and marquesses. Such, in my opinion, were the causes which prolonged the struggle between the empire and the papacy, and which have been hitherto but superficially considered.

Shall I be disappointed in my hopes that this Life of Gregory VII. may be acceptable to the English reader; and that the impartiality with which facts are narrated, and the sources from whence they are derived, may merit some attention? I am well aware that many works abound, both of satire and eulogy, with regard to this pontiff;—works too strongly imbued with the prejudices and partiality of their authors, of which Gretserus the Jesuit amuses himself by making out a catalogue: but exactly in proportion to this mass of misrepresentation does the truth demand a more minute examination. We are now arrived at the fit period for considering, with the cool eye of reason, the impelling causes of those wars which desolated Italy; and if these causes should be so

developed as to enforce conviction, this elucidation of that period will not be made in vain. Let me invite the Catholic and Protestant reader to peruse these pages, and see, in the eleventh century, the establishment of those doctrines of the Roman church by which it has ever since, up to this period, been distinguished; and which, till then, were, for many ages, in a wavering and unsettled state. A simple monk, emerging from his cloister, and assuming the direction of the public affairs of the Roman Catholic church, surmounted every obstacle, and opened a way to his successors by which they might place themselves in the sphere of angels and of gods. It was Gregory who taught the Leos, and Sixtuses, and Piuses how to govern people without the force of arms; a lesson hitherto neither forgotten nor abandoned. A sound but subtle policy, inflexible constancy, unshaken courage, placed the popes upon that throne, from which they have never, but for a feverish moment, been deposed. Since their restoration, the blind and idle credulity of the people, which served them as a footstool, has increased; and had the French nation yielded to that yoke which the Jesuits would have imposed on it, the days of excommunication and dethronements would have been revived.

In the prosecution of this work, my object has been simple truth, divested either of encomium or censure. In all questions of dubious credit, I have pointed out the sources from which I have derived

information; and, as to those upon which all writers are agreed, I have avoided any unnecessary citation of authorities, or ostentatious display of learning. I trust that no requisite labour or diligence has been spared; and I entreat the critical reader to attribute any defect or error, rather to the absence of necessary documents since I left Italy, than to culpable or voluntary neglect.

Under this conviction, I do not hesitate to submit this work to the public; in the hope, at least, that it may confirm it in that Protestant belief which our enlightened fathers established, to the happiness and glory of this kingdom.

29. Hertford Street, London.
May 4. 1832.

ERRATA.

Page 3. foot note, line 5. for " fermatozi" read " fermatosi."
7. marginal note, line 6. for " 984." read " 974."
9. foot note, line 1. for " Epidaumas" read " Epidan."
16. line 4. reference to note A omitted.
35. line 26. reference to note B omitted.
74. line 16. for " obtinerint" read " obtinerent."
74. line 33. for " desueta" read " districto."
75. line 1. for " annis" read " curris."
75. line 2. for " testium" read " tertium."
75. line 3. for " Tribucæ" read " Tribuco."
76. line 6. for " mediusque" read " medicusque."
76. line 7. for " longe" read " longevo."
76. line 10. for " auctuvit" read " auctavit."
85. line 12. for " Benzone" read " Bennone."
94. marginal note, line 20. for " Clement VI." read " Clement II."
180. marginal note, for " Arc hbis " read " Archbishop."
205. line 11. for " ministerio" read " ministerii."
208. head of Chap. II. line 2. for " letter" read " letters."
231. foot note, line 2. for " Salernitamus" read " Salernitanus."
251. line 6. for " ultramontines" read " ultramontanes."
289. line 2. for " insul" read " insult."
316. lines 20, 21. for " some assist" read " some to assist."
362. foot note, line 7. for " aqua primus" read " a qua primum."
362. foot note, line 8. for " intulis" read " infulis."

INTRODUCTION.

To enable the reader to understand and appreciate the bearing and importance of the occurrences described in the following pages, I have found it absolutely necessary to bring under his observation a concise but connected account of the principal political events which happened, and a general prospectus of the religious principles, opinions, and tenets which prevailed in Italy and Rome for half a century preceding the period at which the immediate subject of this work commences. Without this preliminary information, much of the subsequent matter might have lost its interest, or been obscure.

In the year 965 of the Christian era, the see of Rome became vacant by the death of the two popes, Leo VIII. and Benedict V., who had disputed it. The first protected by Otho the Great, Emperor of Germany, was in possession; the second, supported by the Roman people, was a prisoner in one of the fortresses of the same Otho, who, a few years previously, having conquered Berenger, King of Italy, and destroyed his party, had compelled the Romans to agree never to elect another pontiff without the consent of the emperor. The Romans, on the other

hand, yielding only a forced submission to this law, omitted no favourable opportunity of evading it, and availed themselves of the absence of the emperor in Germany to elect the Bishop of Narni to the papal see under the name of John XIII.*

This tumultuous and illegal election, however, was not of long continuance; and the year had not expired before the new pontiff was seized by the prefect, a certain Roffredo, and being driven from the city, went into exile in Campagna.†

John XIII. banished.

Government of Rome towards the close of the 10th century.

It is not easy to ascertain the actual form of government at Rome in this period, or the powers and titles of the principal magistrates who presided over the city. According to Platina‡, there was a prefect, who administered justice; twelve decarchones, or tribunes, chosen from amongst the people; and two annual consuls. Their authority extended over all the ancient Roman duchy, — Viterbo, Orvieto, and Todi, — and as far as Naples and Benevento, comprehending the Marshes, Rieti, and the adjoining provinces.

* Luitprand.

† In a work entitled "Corona della Nobilta d'Italia e compendio Storico delle Famiglie Illustri, di Giovanni Pietro dei Crescenzi Romani," is the following: — "Crescenzio dei Crescenzi di Lamentaria, diceso dalla nobilta di Scozia per sangue dei Conti Latonii di Ventonia e di Donfermelino; dal quale ebbero origine i Crescenzi, Romanæ nobilitatis antiquissimæ, chiamati dal Barone di Muresk, chiarissimi per la prosopia di 20 Cardinali."

‡ Vita Joan XIII.

At this time lived Crescentius, a native of the little city of Nomento, which was about three miles distant from Rome, and was destroyed, in 1485, by Robert Sanseverino, who took it by assault from Virginius Orsini.* This Crescentius was married to Stefania, a most illustrious senatress in Rome, who, in the year 970, had obtained of Pope John the city of Palestrina as a fief; and having amassed great wealth and power, and being greatly in favour with the emperor, declared on the side of the pope; and, sending his son John into the Campagna, succeeded in killing Roffredo, and reconducting the pontiff to Rome. Origin of Crescentius.

Such an enterprise was not difficult on account of the terror of the German armies, which were then crossing the Alps, to annihilate the symptoms of turbulence in Lombardy and civil discords in Rome. Otho, in fact, did not delay to march upon that last city, and occupy himself with threats and punishments against the rebels. In the following year, 967, thirteen of the greatest barons of Rome were strangled; the consuls banished; the tribunes hanged; the grave of Roffredo, Count of Campagna, was opened, his carcass quartered; and Peter, the prefect who succeeded him, dragged ignomi-

* Camillo Porzio, Congiura dei Baroni di Napoli, c. 2. p. 108. "Per lo valore di quell' Orazio che immorando se stesso la dignita di console, e dagli Storici chiamato il fiore del Latino rudimento: per gloria di tanti Principi, Cavalieri e Capitani di nome; uno dei quali fermatozi in Piaecenza fu padre dei fruttiferi rami della casa."

niously through the streets of the city, seated naked on an ass, with his face to its tail and a bell round his neck, and then thrown into prison. * This last punishment of the prefect was at the instigation of the pope, John, into whose power he had fallen.

A spectator of so many slaughters, and holding in contempt the authority of the Roman people, Crescentius grieved no less at the dominion which the Germans exercised over Italy, than at the monstrous novelty of a priest invested with the attributes of sovereignty, contrary to every institution of that faith of which he was called to be the support and representative. Besides this, the republican forms were still maintained in the government of the people, and the monuments of Roman power silently re-

* Continuator Regino in Chron.
Pagius in Critica Baroni.
Baronius in Annales Ecclesiast. anno 965.
Chronica Farfensis.
" Johannes Papa XIII. a Roffredo Comiti Campano, Petro Præfecto Urbis adjutorio, et vulgo et populo et decurionibus est comprehensus, et in castello St. Angeli reclusus, quem abstrahentes in Campaniæ partibus in exilium egêre. Interfecto vero Roffredo, Johannes Papa reversus est in suum honorem; et ubi Otho Imperator Romam evenit, et hæc gesta audivit, Romanos consules comprehendit et ultra montes direxit. De vulgo autem et populo in patibulum XII. suspendit. Præfectum veri in potestatem Papa dedit qui ejus barbam abscindere fecit et capillos ejus, et in caballo Constantini, ad omnium exemplum, suspendit, — expoliatum super asinum posuere, averso capite ad caudam asini et manibus sub cauda ejus et tintinnabulum ad collum et per totam Romam flagellatum duxere et tunc in carcerem misere."

proached them for their cowardice and sloth. Impressed with these feelings, Crescentius obtained from the emperor for himself the prefecture of the city, to which the guardianship of the castle was annexed, and for his son the county of Campagna.

Origin of the counts of Tusculum.

Another very powerful family at Rome possessed also great influence at this time in the government of the city.* This family was descended from Trullus, a Roman patrician, who, in the year 521, had become lord of Tusculum. Trullus himself sprung from the Ottavian family, was father to the martyr Placidus, and related to the Emperor Justinian and his consort Theodora. His daughter (Silvia Proba) was married to Ilduinus Marzius, Duke of Milan, and became the mother of Ancius Marzius, who afterwards assumed the name of Malespina. St. Gregory the Great moreover was his near relation. His descendants in the course of time becoming masters of Tusculum, with the title of count, gave many pontiffs to Rome; amongst whom were Adrian I., Sergius III., John XI., John XII. in 956, who was scarcely twenty years old, and many others, as will be seen in the sequel. To a union with this family Crescentius now directed his attention. He gave his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Pope John, surnamed the Greater, who was of the family of Trullus†, and was entitled Count of Sabina. Strengthened by such connections he grew in credit and power over

* Mattei Storia di Tusculo.

† La Cronica di Farfa.

all Italy, and began to entertain the most extravagant designs.

In the mean time Otho the Great over-ran Italy, and ultimately attacking the Greeks and the Saracens, was every where acknowledged as a conqueror. He sent for his son, Otho II., from Germany, and caused him to be crowned emperor in Rome by John XIII., in 967, and having brought Teofonia, a daughter of the Emperor Romanus the younger from Constantinople, and married her to his son, he departed from Italy, which he had nearly subdued.

Coronation of Otho II. — Rome.

Departure of Otho from Italy.

An. 972. At length died John XIII., surnamed the White Hen, on account of the colour of his hair. In 973 he was succeeded by Benedict VI.*, who waited thirteen months for the approbation of the emperor before he was consecrated.

973. May 7. The decease of Otho the Great happening at Magdeburg, shortly after this event, disturbances broke out in Rome, in consequence of Crescentius wishing to restrain the authority of the holy see, and limit the influence of the German emperors. With him was associated Boniface, called Francone, son of the Roman Ferrucio; and he, having taken Pope Benedict, strangled him in the castle of St. Angelo, and assembling the

Death of Benedict VI. An. 974.

* There is some confusion in the ecclesiastical annals as to the immediate successor of John XIII. In some catalogues of the popes, a certain Domnus, or Dono, is inserted between John XIII. and Benedict VI.; in others he is made to succeed the latter: but his existence is very uncertain, and his reign, at any rate, very short. Hirmannus contractus in Chron. Maximus Scotus in Chron. Martinus Polonus in Chron. Pandulf. in Chron. tom. xi. Rer. Ital.

people, whom he corrupted with great bribes, caused himself to be elected and consecrated pope, under the name of Boniface VII. In a month afterwards he was driven from Rome by Crescentius and the counts of Tusculum, enraged at so much impiety, and was obliged to fly to Constantinople, conveying with him all the treasures of the church of St. Peter.*

984. Flight of Boniface.

On the termination of the pontificate of Boniface, Benedict VII., of the family of the counts of Tusculum, nephew or grandson of Albericus, whom the ecclesiastical historians call the Prince or Tyrant of Rome, and already Bishop of Sutri, was elected pope. He was recognised by the emperor, Otho II., and shortly after his consecration he convoked a council, and excommunicated the fugitive Pope Boniface. This pontiff governed the church peaceably for nine years, but being unable to agree with Crescentius and his son, he called Otho II. from Germany to his aid.† Crescentius wished to restore full liberty to the Roman people by re-establishing the ancient forms of the republic. The pope, on the other side, could not help regarding this people as the inheritance of St. Peter, and himself as his successor having a right to govern it. These novel pretensions being equally unable to support themselves, the more powerful and the weaker party simultaneously invoked the protection of the stranger, as a refuge from the real oppressors of their country. Otho II. quickly repaired to

Benedict VII.

975.

Otho II. in Rome.

* Baronius in Annal. Eccl.

† Feodoardo v. Duschesne.

Rome, and took up his residence in the imperial palace near St. Peter's, but outside the walls of the city; the habitations of the monarchs of those times being always outside the mural circle of their capitals.

Otho II. returns to Italy.

The disturbances at Rome being quelled by his presence and that of his soldiers, the Emperor departed; and in the following year, 983, he again repaired to Italy, with the intention of renewing the war, and held a diet in Lombardy of all the princes, bishops, and abbots of the empire, at which those laws were promulgated which seem barbarous to modern times, but were then looked upon as sacred, establishing evidence by oath upon the Gospels, and the trial by duel.

Diet in Lombardy, and laws of Otho II.

By the first, possession was recovered of any property which was sworn, according to the form prescribed, once to have belonged to the juror. By the second, when sufficient evidence was wanting, it was competent for the accused to challenge his adversary to single combat: it was fully believed that as God would protect the innocent, he could not fail to triumph over his accuser. These laws filled the archives with false diplomas, and the arenas with lamentable combats. He afterwards assembled a powerful army with the intention of going into Sicily and expelling thence the Saracens, making a bridge over the Straits of Messina, in imitation of that of Xerxes across the Hellespont. But arriving in Rome he fell ill, — some say through grief, and others through a neglected wound, — and after having made his confession in Latin in presence

of the pope and all the bishops and priests, and received absolution from them, he died the 5th of December, 983.* Death of Otho II.

According to Leo Ostiensis, his body was deposited in an urn of porphyry, with an image of our Saviour, in the porch of the church of the Vatican, whence it was removed by order of Pope Paul V. on account of the new edifice.

Pope Benedict VII. had died a little before the emperor, by whose influence the arch-chancellor of the empire, Peter, Bishop of Pavia, had raised himself to the pontificate under the name of John XIV. Death of Benedict VII. 983. John XIV.

The famous Boniface, who was still a prisoner at Constantinople, hearing of this, came rapidly to Rome, where he obtained the aid of Crescentius, called also Cencius, the son of Theodora, or rather of the senatress Stefania †, and heir to all his father's wealth and virtues. The Tusculan faction, also, which could not endure a foreign pope, or one nominated by the emperor, having joined in this enterprise, John XIV. was put into the castle of St. Angelo, and there either cruelly starved to death or strangled, in the year 984.‡ Death of John XIV.

John XIV. occupied the throne of St. Peter only eight or nine months. The terrible Boniface re-ascended it, and remained there eleven months longer. In the year 985 his career of Death of Boniface VII.

Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. cap. 9. Epidaumas in Chron. Ditmarus in Chron.

† Muratori Annali d'Italia.

‡ Ermannus. contratt. in Chron. 2 Chronica Vulturnea, p. 11. tom. i. vers. Ital.

wickedness was finished by a stroke of apoplexy. The populace exhausted on his corpse all the hatred which they had conceived against him:— they dragged it through the streets, transfixed it with lances, and left it exposed to the open air in the field where the statue of Marcus Aurelius was discovered.* The following morning the clergy assembled and gave it burial.

John XVI. Although the chronology of the popes is very much confused about this period, it appears certain† that John, a Roman, and son of Leo, a priest, succeeded in this year, 985, to the pontifical chair.‡ Crescentius, recently elected consul of the Romans, and having besides the title of patrician, which was become almost hereditary in his family, being unable to accommodate his interests with Pope John XVI., because he pretended to exercise an influence in the temporal government of the city, began to persecute him resolutely with all his power, and compelled him to fly from Rome, and take shelter in Tuscany. The pope no sooner arrived at the dukes and marquesses of this province, than he began to exhort Otho III., who was yet a boy when he succeeded his father, with letters and messages to proceed into Italy, and protect his family from the powerful Romans. Crescentius

* Baronius in Ann. ad hunc ann.

† Muratori Annali.

‡ There was another John, called the XVth, elected after the death of John XIV., but nothing is known of him; and he is only numerically considered in the catalogue of the popes.

hearing of this, and discovering no efficient means of resisting the emperor's troops, sent ambassadors to the pope, exhorting him to return to Rome, and proposing, as a condition, that he should leave the temporal power in his own hands and in those of the people.* The pope, who had the reputation of prudence, and being fond of his country, accepted these conditions, preferring rather the welfare and affection of the people, to a tyrannical power acquired by oppression.

Treaty of Crescentius with John XVI.

Maxims so noble, on the part of a Roman pontiff, are not sufficiently appreciated by Cardinal Baronius, who appears to be rather desirous of inveighing against the few good men of this period, than of applauding purity and truth.

This agreement was entered into in 987, and matters being thus accommodated, the pope enjoyed tranquillity from the Roman people for the remainder of his life, until 996; and Crescentius, who at the death of Otho II. had nearly been elected emperor in Rome†, greatly con-

* Rom. Saler. Chron. p. 7. Rer. Ital. Muratori Annali.

† Il Manenti, in his Storia di Orvieto, written in 1400, writes thus: "In the year 989, Crescentius, consul of Rome, made himself master of Rome, notwithstanding the pontiff and the Emperor of Germany, and governed in Italy till 990. In that year great disturbances took place, on account of the election of the emperor; because the Romans, and other republics and princes of Italy, conspired to place the empire at Rome in the hands of Italians, and shake off the yoke of Germany and other barbarous countries, asserting that all the ruin and loss to Italy, and the Christian faith, proceeded from these barbarians; and alleging so many ravages of Rome, and the other cities of Italy, after the departure of

solidated his own power, and made the Roman state independent.

As far as the circumstances of these times permitted, other cities, in imitation of Rome, assumed a republican government; and amongst them the city of Orvieto, which elected its own consuls annually, was conspicuous for its wealth and power. The supremacy of the Roman republic, on the form of which her government was modelled, was acknowledged by Orvieto.

Other parts of Italy experienced different fates. Sicily was in the hands of the Saracens, —Puglia and Calabria, variously contested by the Saracens, the Germans and the Greeks, were in constant commotion. Naples lived under a republic, Amalfi did the same, and different dukes and lords ruled over Capua, Salerno, and Beneventum. Venice, the most flourishing of all,

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Constantine. Other princes and republics, on the other hand, arose and declared that they would not yield obedience to the Romans, nor to the pontiffs. Finally, in 991, Otho III. was elected emperor by the Germans, from the apprehension they entertained lest the empire should be taken from their house. At this period Crescentius, chief and lord of Rome, had usurped the dominion and empire of Italy; being master of the patrimony, against Pope John, and of the church, which he did not fear. The Emperor of Germany, and many cities of Italy, favoured his views, and Otho was called on by the pontiff to reduce his power. Already had the disputes and wars between the empire and the church commenced, and many cities had declared on both sides. Italy in the mean time was filled with barbarians, who molested her cities, and exhibited no symptoms of departure.

increased in commerce and riches, and although nearer to the power of Germany than any other city in Italy, remained undisturbed by it. Milan, and other cities of Lombardy, were governed by their respective bishops, who, emulous of each other, were more especially so of Rome, to which they would not submit. Milan in particular had succeeded in rendering herself independent, receiving as suffragans almost all the bishops of Lombardy, and dividing the primacy of that part of Italy with the church of Ravenna. Tuscany was governed by a duke or marquess, independent of the emperor; as was also the duchy of Spoleto, both of which might be called imperial fiefs. Pisa carried on a great commerce with the East, — as we shall have occasion to see in the sequel, — and had assumed the form of a republic, and Genoa was beginning to emerge from her obscurity. Such was the position of all the states of Italy at the time when the patrician and consul Crescentius held the reins of the Roman people, and bridled the ambition of the priesthood. But the desire of the emperors of Germany to be styled Roman, and to dispose of the affairs of Italy at their pleasure, rendered this state of tranquillity of short duration. Otho III., who had ascended the imperial throne in 983, marched into this beautiful country at the head of his rapacious Germans, raising tribute and homage from the bishops, abbots, and princes, and carrying pillage and devastation into every quarter.

Otho III. invades Italy.

996.

While the emperor was at Ravenna, Pope

Pope John XVI. dies.

John XVI. died, generally lamented by the good, and hated only by his enemies and the malicious.* Otho instantly repairing to Rome, caused Bruno, the son of Otho, Duke of Franconia, and then Marquess of the March of Verona, his nephew, and chaplain to the court, to be elected pope. Crescentius, unprepared for this sudden visit, was compelled to yield to the force of circumstances; and being cited by Otho to render an account of his conduct under Pope John XVI., was constrained to retire into exile on his estates and amongst his fortified castles, which

* One of the detractors and enemies of Pope John XVI. was Gerbertus, created Archbishop of Reims. This man was a courtier monk, who, furnished with talents and information, was ambitious of ecclesiastical advancement. Sustained by the authority of Hugh Capet, who was at that time monarch of France, he caused the Archbishop Arnulfus to be deposed, and consecrated himself in his pontifical seat. The pope undertook the defence of the deposed archbishop. A paper war ensued, but at length, the abbot of the monastery of St. Boniface being sent by Pope Leo as his legate in 995, the differences were adjusted. In a letter of Gerbertus himself are these expressions: — "The legates of the king and ours, going to Rome, presented the letters to the pope, and were indignantly received; and perhaps, as we imagine, because they did not offer any little present to Crescentius, they were kept three days at a distance from the palace, and then sent back without any answer; so that it undoubtedly happens, in consequence of our sins, that the Roman church, which is the mother of all churches, becomes enfeebled by means of tyranny." This Gerbertus was afterwards pope, under the name of Silvester II., although he had been expelled from the church at Reims, and his election declared invalid. He then changed his court, and with it his fortune; for, transporting himself to the Emperor Otho, he obtained the object of his desires. — Baron. Ann. E. ad ann. 999.

were then (996) impregnable. Muratori, in his Annals, following the authority of different authors, states that Bruno was elected by the general will and consent of the Roman people, whilst Otho was still at Ravenna. Although, however, according to the Annals of Ildeseim, it does not appear that the emperor hastened to Rome, yet the Saxon annalist and others assert, that being already in Italy he sent forward some princes with his consent and order for Bruno his nephew, the son of Otho, who then governed the March of Verona, to be elected publicly to the apostolic see, and to assume the name of Gregory V. On the 31st of May, moreover, it appears certain that he obtained the imperial crown from the new pope, as also the title of patrician, which then carried with it almost the sovereign jurisdiction of Rome. It was then that he cited Crescentius to give an account of his acts, and condemned him to banishment.*

Election of Gregory V. May 3. 996.

Pope Gregory, who, although young, possessed considerable experience and information, per-

* Il Manenti, in the year 995, relates, that "the Romans, for wishing to oppose the election of Gregory, were deprived by the emperor of their authority and dignity in the capitol; an evident sign that the election of Bruno, in 996, was not unattended with commotion and popular resistance. No sooner had the emperor departed, than Crescentius drove Gregory from Rome; and almost the whole of the Campagna of Rome, and his patrimony, rising in insurrection to resume their liberty, illegally elected Pope John. Gregory then fled with a part of his court to Venice, and held Orsi, and other places of his patrimony, in defence of himself and of the church.

ceiving that he should never be able to live in peace, while a man of so much importance was exiled, interceded for him with the emperor, who pardoned and restored to him his possessions. Crescentius could not quietly submit to such treatment, nor could the Roman people suffer a German to be elected as their pope, through the sole favour or authority of the emperor; so that scarcely had Otho abandoned the city, in order to pass through Lombardy into Germany, than the Romans began to rise. Muratori, a great advocate for the temporal dominion of the popes, forgetting that they had never possessed the absolute dominion of the Roman people up to this period, nor reflecting that they did not occupy the fort of St. Angelo, which was the only bulwark of the city, and that all the forms of the ancient republic were being constantly invigorated, blames the operation of Crescentius from beginning to end, and thus relates the transaction.

"It must be admitted that Crescentius, consul of Rome, was an ill-disposed man, eaten up with ambition. When Pope Gregory V. bethought himself to exercise that temporal dominion in Rome, and in his duchy, which so many of his predecessors had enjoyed, and which had been confirmed by Augustus, (Otho III.) he found too strong an opponent in this same Crescentius. This man desiring to command, forgetful of the oath of fealty which he had sworn to the same pope and to the emperor, and

* Muratori. An. d'Italia, anno 996.

unmindful too of the pardon which his previous crimes had obtained through the intercession of the pontiff himself, caused Gregory V. to fly, destitute of every necessary, in order to save his life. The latter retired to Pavia, where, having assembled a council of bishops, he excommunicated Crescentius, who only derided the sentence, and went on to the most extreme excesses, as though there had been no power, human or divine, which could control him. At this time there arrived in Rome that Calabrian John, Bishop, or rather Archbishop of Piacenza, of whom mention has frequently been made at an earlier period, and who, in the life of St. Nilus Egumenus, by the Cardinal Baronius, is mentioned under the name of Philogathus, as having been sent by Otho III. to Constantinople, to treat concerning his marriage with one of the daughters of the Greek Augusti. There came with him the ambassadors sent to Augustus Otho by the Emperors Basilius and Constantius, who were received with great honours by Crescentius.* It was then that the ambitious Cres-

* The Saxon Chronicle thus describes this personage: — "This John, a Greek by birth (though elsewhere called a Calabrian), of servile condition and most artful mind, presented himself in the garb of poverty to Augustus Otho II., through the means of his beloved consort Theofonia. He was at first brought up at the expense of the king; when, in the course of time, and with the cunning of a fox, in which he was most proficient, he circumvented Augustus Otho, who, according to time and circumstances, was lavish of his favour towards him. On the death of Otho II., and in the reign of Otho III. (his son), the young prelate, with his art and ingenuity, more securely triumphed over the infancy of

centius and the crafty John wove such a web of political iniquity as is often met with in the story of these times. They agreed that the temporal government of Rome should remain with Crescentius, but under the protection and authority of the Greek emperors; and that John should be created pope, and be content with the spiritual government of the church of God.

The afore-mentioned annalist, who reflects so severely under such circumstances on the valorous Romans, does not recollect, perhaps, the form of the Roman government at this time, nor consider that Crescentius could only act as consul of the Roman people. In that case it was the people who were unwilling to be any longer dependent on the German emperors, or the temporal government of the pope, even if ever they had depended on it, or on German popes made by the emperor. In the sequel of this history, we shall see to what extent similar sentiments were carried, and with how much loss to wretched Italy it was attended.

From all, however, that has been related, it

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the king, who granted him the primacy. The Bishop of Vincenza, a man of excellent disposition, dying, he contrived to succeed him.

"The Prefect John, not as a pastor, but as a mercenary, assumed the government of that church—not to govern, but destroy it; and, having occupied it for some years, he was seized with the diabolical passion of avarice; and to such an extent by fornication did he pollute the Holy See, that he rather made it a member of the true anti-Christ, than honoured it by his occupancy."

may be inferred that the new pope, under the title of John XVII., accepted the same conditions as had been imposed on the deceased Pope John XVI., in the observance of which he had peacefully improved his authority all his life. The Constantinopolitan deputies were in perfect harmony with the views of Crescentius, and promised him protection to the utmost of their power. The Romans had need of some support to sustain them against the imperial powers, whose armies, when they entertained the project of descending into Italy, were somewhat formidable.

997. John XVII. elected pope.

On their return from Constantinople, the legates of the emperor were thrown into prison; and, in 991, Crescentius again ruled over Rome, as consul and patrician. He caused the legates which Gregory V. had sent him to be imprisoned, and thus gratified the inclinations, not only of the Roman people, but of almost all Italians. The German name was universally execrated, and foreign dominion could no longer be endured. It is wonderful how all the historians inveigh against this consul, who restored the liberties of his country, whilst they exorbitantly applaud the actions of Gregory VII., who, under similar relations, trod precisely in the steps of Crescentius.

Amid all these changes messengers were sent to Otho, who was employed in Germany in a war against the Slavi. Rapidly breaking up from it, he moved towards the end of this year into Italy, accompanied by Otho the father of

Gregory, and proceeded to Pavia, where the pope awaited him. In this city he celebrated the feast of Christmas; and having assembled all the troops of his own kingdom, and also of Italy, he marched towards Rome, on the 10th of February, 998.

The Romans, assailed by so formidable an army, at first resisted; but at length, seeing that they must finally yield, they opened the gates to the emperor and pope, and sued for pardon.

Punishment of the antipope John.

The antipope John sought to fly from the city; but the Romans themselves discovered and ignominiously mutilated him, splitting his tongue and nose, and then parading him through the streets upon an ass, compelling him to sing. Such was the punishment assigned to him who sought to hurl the Roman pontiff from his throne.* Thus writes one of the saints of the Catholic church, recently enumerated amongst its doctors.† But the Saxon Chronicle relates that the Abbot St. Nilus, who enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, moved at this time with compassion for his kinsman John, being himself a Greek, repaired instantly to Rome, and urged the emperor so importunately as to obtain his pardon. Pope Gregory, who ought to have contributed to so pious a work of forgiveness, was more inexorable than any other; and, instead of listening to the prayers of the

* "Tale supplicium patitur qui Rom. papam de sua sedè pellere nititur."

† Petri Damiani Epistolæ.

holy and venerable man *, wished to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the garments stripped off the back of his rival John, and himself mutilated and maltreated, dragged round the city, and exposed to die. This Calabrian monk only enjoyed his usurped dignity ten months.

The Abbot St. Nilus, ill satisfied with so much obstinacy and cruelty on the part of Gregory, reproached both him and the emperor with their ingratitude towards a man who had educated them, and held them both at the baptismal font; and threatened them with the divine displeasure, which would not be slow in taking revenge for their cruelty.†

Death of Crescentius.

Crescentius did not fly from Rome like the antipope John, but, trusting to the then supposed impregnable mausoleum of Adrian, shut himself up in it with the ancient friends of liberty, and made a brave defence. The emperor undertook a regular siege; and, after repeated and useless assaults, it capitulated. Crescentius had sought for succour at Constantinople and elsewhere; but no one was faithful to him except the Saracens, who were advancing on the side of Calabria to his assistance.‡ On this account Otho was induced to conclude a treaty, by which Crescentius and his followers were to have their lives and property preserved. Scarcely had the castle fallen, however, than Otho possessed himself of the effects and persons of Crescentius and his

* He was ninety years old.

† Il Muratori, Ann. d' Italia, 998.

‡ Manenti, Storia di Orvieto, 998.

companions, and, in violation of his oath and public faith, cut off their heads, and exposed them to public ignominy on the gates of the
998. castle. To cruelty he added insult, and took as his concubine Stefania, the wife of Crescentius, of whom he became passionately enamoured.*

The divine anger soon burst upon the head of him who had provoked it, by the sudden death of Gregory V., in the beginning of the year 999, — not without suspicion of being poisoned by the faction of Crescentius, which was not yet extinct. The Romans could not endure so tyrannical and ambitious a pope, elected against their will, and one who had destroyed almost all their rights on the capitol.† His epitaph says that every sabbath he distributed to the poor twelve garments, and that he understood French and Latin, but

* Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan.

† His epitaph, as given by Baronius, is as follows: —

" Hic quem tegit humus oculis vultuque decorum
Papa fuit, Quintus nomine Gregorius.
Antè tamen Bruno Franconum regia proles.
Filius Othonis de genitrice Judith.
Lingua Teutonicus Vængia doctus in urbe.
Sed juvenis cathedram sedit Apostolicam
Ad binos annos et menses circiter octo,
Ter sene Tebruo commemorante dies.
Pauperibus dives per singula sabbata vestes,
Divisit numero, cautus Apostolico.
Usus Francisca vulgari et voce Latina,
Instituit populos eloquio triplici.
Tertius Otho sibi Petri commisit ovile,
Cognatis manibus unctus in imperium.
Exuit, et postquam terrenæ vincula carnis
Æquivoci dextro substituit lateri."

Discessit XII. Kl. Martis.

is silent as to his vices, amongst which was that of revenge and the corrupt administration of justice; as may be proved by the trial between the Abbots of Forfa and of St. Cosmo and Damianus, which he adjudged in favour of the latter for a bribe.

Scarcely was the pope dead, when Gerbertus, Archbishop of Ravenna, suddenly repaired to Rome to solicit and obtain the vacant seat. This man was a French monk, of the abbey of Aurillac, in Auvergne, perhaps the most learned of his time, who, going to the court of Hugh Capet, passed from the abbey of Bobbio, in Lombardy, to the archbishopric of Reims. Driven from that post by the decree of a pontifical legate as an intruder, he repaired to the Emperor Otho II. and became tutor to his son Otho III., who, a short time before this year (999), had conferred on him the archbishopric of Ravenna. On his arrival in Rome no one could make head against him; and by evil arts, as the historians relate, he was elected, and consecrated pope under the name of Silvester II.* Election of Silvester II.

Having attained this high dignity by corruption and the favour of the emperor, he became the principal counsellor of Otho, in conjunction with Ugo, Marquis of Tuscany. These two personages endeavoured to correct, as much as possible, the abuses committed by the deceased

* There is a famous verse attributed to him: —

Scandit ab R. Gerbertus
Ad R, post Papa viget R.

pontiff, and to silence the faction of the Crescenzi.

Otho III. returns to Germany.

Otho, according to Manenti, unable to resist the Saracens, because none of the Italian princes would take arms in his behalf, set out for Germany in the year 1000. He caused his wife to be burnt on suspicion of infidelity*, and went to Prague to visit the body of St. Adelbert, who had been recently murdered by the Russians. He opened the tomb of Charlemagne, and took from his corpse the cross of gold which hung round his neck, and did many acts of outward piety and devotion. On his return to Rome for Christmas, he went with bare feet to visit the sanctuary of Mount Garganus, then celebrated in honour of St. Michael the archangel. On his road back, he demanded from the Beneventines the body of St. Bartholomew, in order to deposit it in a church which he was building in the island Tiberina, in honour of St. Adelbert. But the Beneventines, deceiving him, gave him in its stead the body of St. Paolinus, Bishop of Nola. Enraged at this deception, the emperor, in the year 1001, went with an army to Beneventum, where he met with great resistance, and retired discomfited to Rome.

Otho III. returns to Italy.

Otho III. besieges Beneventum.

Siege of Tivoli.

The city of Tivoli, always opposed to the imperial party, now openly rebelled; and a captain of the emperor, who commanded there in his name, being slain, the emperor himself was compelled to fly. These acts of desperation in the people were produced by the vexations which

* Manenti, l'ann. 1000.

the Germans practised on them, and by the recollection of the death of Crescentius, who was lamented by all. The emperor then re-assembled his whole army, and directed it against that city. Having met with a powerful resistance, and wishing to extricate himself with honour, he sent Pope Silvester and St. Romualdus, then celebrated, there, who persuaded it to submit. Tangmarus, who wrote the life of Romualdus, and who was present at this event, thus describes it:—"The following day, at the surrender which was agreed upon, all the principal citizens marched out naked, with a linen covering only on the loins, having in their right hand the sword and in their left scourges, protesting that they submitted to the will of the emperor, and that they surrendered their lives at discretion; that whoever the emperor should deem worthy of death would kill himself, or be bound to a stake and be scourged; and that the walls should be thrown down, if such was the emperor's will; being ready as they were to suffer and execute any thing with good-will, and never disobey the orders of his majesty during their lives. The emperor gratuitously pardoned them, and then returned to Ravenna, to the monastery of Classe, there to enjoy the exhortations of St. Romualdus, who was incessantly urging him to repentance, for the slaughter which he had committed in Rome, and for his violation of public faith."

Otho goes to Romualdus at Ravenna.

At this epoch Gregory, Count of Tusculum, excited seditions in Rome, re-animating the depressed faction; and, although much beloved

by the emperor, did every thing he could to seize him, and avenge the death of his murdered parent. Otho, imagining that his presence alone would be sufficient to quiet the effervescence, went to Rome; but a great tumult arising a short distance from the city, all his suite were killed, and he himself saved by the bravery of Ugo, Marquis of Tuscany.

Fresh tumults in Rome.

Soon after this event Ugo died; on the receipt of which intelligence Otho exclaimed, "The tie is broken, and we are free." Universally hated by the Italians, he reconducted his army towards Rome; the terrified citizens of which repented and made peace. The next year (1002), he held a council at Todi with Silvester; and shortly afterwards was poisoned at Paterno, a neighbouring place, by Stefania, whom he still kept as his mistress. Some, however, pretend that he married and then repudiated her; as also that he died of an epidemical fever.*

* "La veuve de Crescentius, Stéphanie, déguisant sa profonde douleur, et se taisant sur les outrages auxquels elle avoit été exposée, cherchoit à tout prix à s'approcher d'Othon, pour tirer de lui une vengeance signalée. Depuis qu'une brutale violence avoit détruit pour elle la gloire et la pureté de sa vie, elle croyoit que la beauté qui lui étoit restée ne devoit plus lui servir que comme instrument de vengeance. Othon étoit revenu malade d'un pélerinage au Mont Gargano, où ses remords peut-être l'avoit conduit. Stéphanie lui fit parler de son habileté dans la médicine: sous ses habits de deuil elle l'éblouit encore par ses charmes, et, comme sa maîtresse ou comme son méde n, ayant gagné sa confiance, elle lui administra un poison qui le conduisit bientôt à une mort douloureuse." — *Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*, vol. i. p. 165. chap. iii. See his authorities.

On the death of Otho, the Romans and all the Italians were let loose against the German army, which was returning home, and in part revenged themselves on that cruel and undisciplined people for the injuries they had received.

An Italian writer of some celebrity draws the following portrait of this emperor, Otho III.* :—

"None of his actions have transpired which indicate greatness of soul, courage, or political foresight. He is conspicuous only for meanness of spirit and uncertainty of purpose, and for that ephemeral, external, and plausible devotion which was the characteristic of all the great men and even of the popes of that period; a devotion which was confined to relics and images, and pilgrimages and priestcraft, under the mantle of which it was pretended that usurpation, and outrages, and cruelty, and debauchery, and treachery, might go unpunished. This emperor, who undertook a pilgrimage barefooted to Garganus; who had struggled to obtain the corpse of St. Bartholomew; who passed a whole Lent in psalm-singing with the monks of Classe; who had vowed to become a monk; who had made and unmade popes at his pleasure, violating the canons of the church and the rights of the Roman people; who had broken his oath to Crescentius and decreed the extermination of all the citizens of Tivoli; who had rejoiced at the death of a duke who had powerfully assisted him in his wars, lived in concubinage with a

* Bossi, Storia d' Italia.

woman whose husband he had murdered, and contracted a marriage in the East, although he had sworn to assume the cowl *, — exhibits the history, not of Otho III., but of the religion of those times, in which donations to the church and the erection of monasteries, were employed as the means of obtaining celestial bliss, and a monastic cloak assumed in the last moments of life, as capable of cancelling and causing to be forgotten all its previous iniquities."

Pope Silvester, having amused himself with making a tour at the head of an army to fight against Cesena, now, according to St. Peter Damianus and other authors, in order the more effectually to organise the republic of Orvieto, poisoned the same Stefania who herself had poisoned Otho.† This Frenchman of Orleans, who had studied mathematics, physic, mechanics, and literature, understood, according to Ditmarus, the motions of the heavenly bodies, invented the balance clock, and greatly surpassed his contemporaries in the arts and sciences. He wrote besides various works, such as a course of geometry and literature, much commended by scholars. According to Muratori ‡, Italy was much indebted to him for having opened a school in the monastery of Bobbio, and having given an

May 11. 1003.

* This refers to the ambassadors whom he sent to Constantinople, to obtain in marriage one of the imperial blood; and to the promises which he made to St. Romualdus to become a monk in the monastery of Classe.

† Saxon Chron. — "Veneficio ejusdem mulieris Papa Romanus gravatus asseritur, ita ut loquendi usum amiserit."

‡ Annali d' Italia, ann. 1003.

impulse in Europe to the revival of letters. From these various accomplishments he was looked upon as a necromancer, and one who had the devil at his command. He certainly was a person sufficiently vicious, and knew well how to exercise his talents in playing for gold and adulation. Sigebertus, Martinius Polaccus, and Ptolemy of Lucca, following in the train of Cardinal Bennone*, have loaded him with abuse; and Ciacconius relates that, in his time, there were some mosaics descriptive of the magic qualities of this pope in a vault in the church of St. Elena in Santa Croce.

Newt u-mults in Rome.

The Romans, however, did not remain inactive on the death of the German pope. Various branches of the Crescenzi family reviving, and being protected by the powerful Stefania, and their kinsmen the counts of Tusculum, broke out in insurrection. The people re-assumed their rights, and created pope a certain Sicco, or Seccone, of the ancient house of Repugnano, who assumed the name of John XVII.; the Romans considering the unhappy monk of Calabria as John XVI.†

Election of John XVII. 1003.

This pope did nothing memorable; and at the

* Platina Vit. dei Pont.

† Here again is another piece of confusion, owing to the distinctions made between the popes elected by the emperors and those elected by the Roman people. In conformity with the best authorities, we have called John, the son of the priest Leo, John XVI.; and Philagathus, John XVII. This Sicco, therefore, in regular order, ought to be John XVIII.; yet he is nowhere so called. — V. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, Chron. Hist. des Papes.

end of six months passed into the other world. His death made way for another, John XVIII., surnamed Fasanus, from the village of Porta Metodii. Father Pagi considers this election to have taken place on the 26th of December, 1003. Such peaceable elections demonstrate that the imperial faction was silenced; it being then uncertain who was to be emperor, although a great part of the Italians had named and consecrated as their king Arduin, Marquis of Ivrea, who was fighting against Germany to sustain himself in that position.

Election of John XVIII.

In the year 1006 a horrible famine, followed by a plague in the subsequent year, raged in Italy, and Rome was particularly the victim of it; but, as no exact memorials of these times exist, it is difficult to describe it precisely. This plague consisted in a humour which, breaking out in the throat and obstructing it, finally impeded respiration. It differed, perhaps, but little from what is now called the quinsey.

In the meanwhile Henry III., Duke of Bavaria, being crowned King of Germany with the title of Henry II., after many efforts, and much opposition from various pretenders, in the year 1004, according to Muratori, arrived in Italy with a powerful army. The partisans of Arduin immediately declared for him, and crowned him King of Italy at Pavia, despite, it appears, of the populace of that city. In a short time the Germans and Pavians had an encounter; and, after a great slaughter on both sides, the city took fire and was nearly consumed.

Arrival of Henry I.

The other cities of Italy, spectators of the cruelty of the Germans, began to arm among themselves, and to get rid of the soldiers of both the pretending parties. However, a great part of the Italian people acknowledged Henry as king, and paid him tribute. The emperor, after a short stay in this country, returned to Germany.

Death of John XVIII.

John XVIII. died in 1009 universally lamented; because, as Baronius confesses, he kept the Greek and Latin churches in harmony, and was beloved both by princes and people.*

Election of Sergius IV., anno 1009.

No sooner was he dead, than tumults broke out in Rome on account of the new election. The influence of the German court was perceptible; and the powerful bishops under its protection were continually at war with the secular prince and the people. In the midst of these contentions Sergius, Bishop of Albano, the son of Peter, and surnamed Pigmouth, was elected pope. This nickname gives no very advantageous idea of his character; since to this day it is applied in Tuscany to every one who is accustomed to scandal in his own family, or in society. The most bitter opponent of this pope was John, the son probably of that Crescentius who was beheaded, and whose family had now regained

* Peter, Bishop of Antioch, in a letter written to Cerularius, testifies that, at the death of Pope John, the church of Rome was united to that of Constantinople. An epitaph in Baronius attests the same: —

"Nam Graios superans suis partibus, unam schismata pellendo reddit ecclesiam."

its ancient splendour, and had become again the chief of the popular faction. This opponent allowed him no repose until his death, which happened two years after his exaltation. Muratori observes that this John, having already become Count or Duke of Spoleto, carried with him a degree of power extraordinary in a private family: he was, moreover, full of courage and audacity, and hesitated not to send a bottle of oil, which he said was miraculously filled, into a church in the capitol as a derisory gift to Henry the King of Germany, but of Italy only in name.

But although Sergius could safely place himself on the pontifical throne, he never attempted to exercise the temporal authority; whilst Crescentius, the brother of John the prefect and tribune of the people, governed at his own discretion, in the individual exercise of the royal authority.*

Massacre of the Christians in Jerusalem.

The pontificate of Sergius IV. (for so he was called) was conspicuous only for the slaughter made by the Caliph Omar of Egypt, a Saracen prince, of almost all the Christians in Jerusalem, and for the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Glabius Radolfus relates, in his chronicle, that in the year 1010 a French Jew was sent to this prince with a letter from his brethren, in which he was advised that if he had

* John even had the title of Patrician, which the emperors alone assumed when they were crowned in Rome. — Mabillonis Ann. Ben. ad hunc annum.

not destroyed that temple, the Christians would have destroyed his kingdom. Such an intimation greatly alarmed the Saracen prince, who instantly laid hands on every Christian who came in his way. On the receipt of this melancholy news in Europe, together with the account of the pilgrims, who were on their road in great numbers to the Holy Land, having been slaughtered, a horrible persecution broke out against the Jews, who were all but exterminated. The following are the words of the above-named historian: — "So violent a hatred was conceived against the Jews, that they were all driven out of the cities and annihilated, some by the sword, and others by the flames, and by every description of death. Some even amongst them committed suicide; and very few were left in the whole Roman empire who preserved their lives, entirely separated from all human intercourse, and utterly prohibited from holding communion or commerce with their fellow-creatures."

Massacre of the Jews in Europe.

Sergius IV. dying in 1012, Benedict VIII., son of Gregory, Count of Tusculum, was elected in his stead. On this occasion disturbances broke out between these counts and the Crescenzi, who continued to be the supporters of the popular party. The latter named in opposition to Benedict a certain Gregory; and by force of arms compelled the former to fly from the city and retire into Germany, to the court of Henry, whose protection he sought. The king welcomed him kindly, and projected with him a descent into Italy with a powerful army: Pope Benedict was

Election of Benedict VIII. 1012.

to recover his rights, both spiritual and temporal; and the king to obtain the title and power of emperor. In fact, they prosecuted their design. It appears that the pope preceded the king by some time; and the Crescenzi, perceiving the impossibility of resisting so powerful a monarch, conformed themselves to circumstances, and voluntarily received him into Rome.

On the other hand, at the close of the year 1013, Henry crossed the Alps with a mighty army, and by the sole influence of his name put to flight King Arduin, who retired into his fortresses of Riemonte, leaving the Lombard cities which were on his side, either to the task of defending themselves, or to the discretion of the conqueror.

Henry arriving in Rome, with his wife Cunegunda, in February, 1014, the pope went to meet him, accompanied by twelve senators, six of whom had their beards shaved. Advancing together to the church of the Vatican, and the king being asked by the pope if he would be the champion and defender of the church of Rome, and faithful to the pope and his successors, he assented with much devotion; and received, together with his wife Cunegunda, the unction and imperial crown. The two Crescenzi, despite their feelings, respectfully submitted to these ceremonies, and with them all the Romans who abhorred the Germans, or who dreaded the imperial authority; but, on the eighth day after the coronation, a dreadful tumult broke out between the Romans and the Germans, on the bridge over the Tiber, in which

Coronation of Henry as emperor.

Tumult in Rome.

many on both sides fell. Amongst the Germans, those who were supposed to be the ringleaders, viz., Hug-Heil and Euelin, were arrested, and thrown into chains in Germany.

The tumults being appeased, the emperor exercised the sovereign authority, issued decrees, administered justice, like his predecessors; and, finally, established Benedict on the throne of St. Peter, giving him the temporal supremacy over the Romans.

Inauthenticity of the diploma of Henry I.

Father Mabillon and Muratori are divided as to the authority of the diploma cited by Baronius, by which Henry had confirmed the donation of the Roman States by his ancestors to the church, both because it is an informal copy and without date, and bears the signature of Richard, Abbot of Ofuldense, who could not exercise such an authority till 1022. If this be the case, it would be an instance of the ingenious frauds committed in proof of the authenticity and legitimacy of the possessions of the church.

Henry, departing from Rome in 1014, returned to Germany.

Notwithstanding the various losses of the Crescenzi and their faction, it appears from the Chronicle of Farfa*, as we have before shown, that John, the son of Crescentius, was Prefect of Rome, and his brother Albericus was consul, with the temporal government of the city. In order to give an idea of the dignity of these of-

* Chron. p. 11. t. 11. Rer. Ital. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, an. 1015.

Dignity of Prefect of Rome.

fices, I will relate what Muratori, on the authority of Gerous, writes concerning the Prefect of Rome, translating the Latin text of the last author:—"The dignity of Prefect of the City of Rome, so conspicuous in ancient times, appears to have been renewed under the Emperor Otho. Even in the times of Pepin and Charlemagne, Patrician of Rome, the same illustrious dignity was exercised." Gerous of Reicherspergense, a writer of the following century, in a letter to Henry, the cardinal priest, informs him "that civil causes only came under the cognizance of the Roman senators, and that the great affairs of the city and the world were far above their judicature, and were referred to the Roman pontiff or his vicars, such as Linus and Cletus, and likewise to the Roman people, or their vicar — the prefect of the city, who, by his dignity belongs to both; that is, to the pope, to whom he renders homage as his lord, and to the emperors, of whom he receives the ensigns of his power, viz. a sword out of the scabbard. As they whose business it is to lead the army to battle are conjointly invested with the standard; so the prefect of the city, from long custom, is not inaptly invested with authority, by means of an undrawn sword, against the malefactors of the city. The prefect of the city then lawfully avails himself of the sword given to him against the mischievous, amid the applause of good men, when he follows the court, either of the pope or the emperor, to honour the priesthood and the empire, and swears fidelity to both."

Such were the functions of the prefect in those times.

The work of Centelori on this office, which comprises all the notices respecting it, may be consulted on this point; but it would not be safe always to assign to the prefect the functions of consul of the Roman people, unless it were admitted that when the latter exercised all his functions, the former surrendered a portion of his own power. It appears certain, however, that the authority of the capitol was exclusively that of the consul, who engrossed almost all the temporal power of the state.

Destruction of the Saracens at Luni.

In the year 1016, Pope Benedict signalised himself by a kind of crusade which he made against the Saracens, who had landed at Luni, a large and ancient city which then formed a part of Tuscany. The forces of various Italian princes, and particularly the fleets of Pisa and Genoa, which had already began to signalise themselves by their maritime exploits, being assembled, the Moors were attacked on all sides with great slaughter. Their king, Mugeltus, was alone saved from destruction by flying to the island of Sardinia, of which he was master. His wife was taken prisoner and beheaded; and the pope sent a part of her jewels and treasure as a present to the emperor. He then sent the Bishop of Ostia as his legate to the two above-named cities, exhorting them to prosecute the enterprise; and, acting in concert, they drove Mugeltus from Sardinia, compelling him to fly

1017. into Africa, and entirely liberated that island from the Moorish yoke.

It was now some years since Melus, a citizen of Bari, had excited the Apulians to revolt against their oppressors the Greeks. This enterprising man, burning with patriotism, did every thing in his power to save his country from foreign dominion; and, during the variable fortune of his arms, traversed the provinces, exhorting them to national independence. At all times the destiny of the devoted countries of Apulia, Calabria, and all which is now comprised under the kingdom of Naples, had been unfortunate; but now it was peculiarly wretched; because the Greek emperors, for want of energy, and from being unable to defend it against invasion, did nothing but exact money from the afflicted population, and practise unexampled cruelties. The idea of saving his country from so many calamities occurred to this illustrious citizen of Bari; and taking up arms, he traversed both earth and ocean to accomplish his design. It was in this year, 1017, that, being at Mount Garganus, he found a handful of Normans, who were making a pilgrimage to that sanctuary; and, discovering them to be robust and powerful, he engaged them to follow him in his bold enterprize against the Greek emperors. The campaign opened auspiciously—the Greeks being discomfited in the first encounter; but, having received fresh succours from Constantinople, Melus and his followers in their turn were routed, and obliged to seek assistance from the

Rebellion of Melus, and first appearance of the Normans.

emperor. On his arrival in Germany this singular man put an end to his existence, with the melancholy satisfaction of having vainly endeavoured to liberate his country, and pointed out the way to others to make it hereafter the theatre of sanguinary scenes and conflicts. Death of Melus. 1019.

But the Greeks did not forego the prosecucution of their victory; and as they had a secret understanding with the Prince of Capua and the Abbot of Monte Cassino, Pope Benedict did not consider himself safe at Rome, and, under the pretext of being called away by the emperor to consecrate the church of Bomberga, went, in 1020, into Germany, from whence he might make the emperor cross the Alps, and rescue Italy from his enemies. The Saracens, besides, about this time advanced without opposition from Calabria, and other points of the kingdom, against Rome.*

* This movement of Benedict was, perhaps, occasioned by some tumults which had broken out in the city; since the Chronicle of Farfa says that a decree was passed in the presence of John the patrician and Crescentius the prefect in favour of St. Benedict and St. Basilius, at the Alexandrine baths, by the priest of St. Eustatius; and he adds, "Questo usurpo tirannicamonte l'imperio di Roma e d' Italia." Mention is made of St. Crescentius in the tables of donation for the monastery of St. Gregory at Vico Scauro, on the 23d of November of the third year of the pontificate of Benedict, in the sixth of the reign of Henry, and actually in the year 1018. In another passage in the Chronicle of Farfa, in 1022, it is said that Pope Benedict was hostile to Benedict, Count of Sabina, and took many castles from him. John, the son of this same Count Benedict, and brother of Crescentius, being besieged in Prænestе by the papal arms, was liberated

Henry was not slow in beginning his march towards Italy; but, having rapidly assembled an army, he crossed the Alps, pacified the countries through which he passed, and, reaching the Basilicata, laid siege to the city of Troja. After sitting three months under its walls, the city capitulated; and leaving a trusty governor, he proceeded with Pope Benedict to elect a new abbot at Monte Cassino; the actual one of which, perceiving that his plots were discovered, and hearing of the movements of Henry, thought fit to withdraw by sea to Constantinople, and was shipwrecked on his voyage. Whilst the emperor was at this monastery, he was seized with a violent fit of the gravel; and one night, whilst asleep, he thought St. Benedict appeared to him, and predicted his recovery. On awaking in the morning he was, in fact, perfectly well. This miracle, which would now be rejected by reasonable men, inspired him with so great an affection for the monastery, that he endowed it with valuable gifts. The plague had already evinced itself in the army of Henry during the siege of Troja, which induced him the more readily to pardon the inhabitants; and the disease increasing, on account of the barbarous ignorance of the times, which knew no remedy

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by the intercession of his brothers; and peace was concluded with the monastery of Farfa. It appears that the Crescenzi, under the pontificate of Benedict, were constrained to retire into their fortresses of Sabina, and other strong places, to avoid the persecution of the emperor and pope.

for it, he repassed the Alps in great haste, with only a few attendants, and applied himself sedulously to the ecclesiastical affairs of his country. Thus occupied till 1024, he was numbered with the dead at the same time as Benedict VIII.

Death of Henry II.

The family of the Tusculan counts, owing to so long a papacy, and the almost absolute authority which Benedict had exercised, was now become extremely powerful; and the minds of all parties being corrupted, partly by favours and partly by gold, his lay-brother was proclaimed pope, as John XIX. Such an election was contrary to the canons, and every good man was displeased at it. But the wishes of good men are vain when corruption and influence are in vigour; and thus, in being consecrated pope, the same man, on the same day, was both layman and pontiff.*

John XIX. pope. Anno 1024.

On the death of Henry the imperial crown was disputed by the two Conrads, one the son of the Duke of Franconia, the other Duke of Carinthia and Marquess of Verona, both brothers of Pope Gregory V., and cousins to each other. Conrad, called the Elder, the son of Henry, was elected King of Germany by a diet of dukes, princes, and bishops; and was crowned at Mayence on the 8th of September, 1024. The Italians finding themselves, in the absence of the emperor, strong enough to plant the standard of liberty, and have recourse to arms, Eribertus, the Archbishop of Milan, who had the temporal

Conrad II Emperor of Germany.

* Card. Baronius, Ann. ad hunc annum.

and spiritual government of that city and its dependencies, led the armies to battle and celebrated the divine service; thus mingling the two affairs in one. On the election of the king in Germany, he was the first among the Italian princes to acknowledge and invite him into Italy. Conrad was not slow in complying; and at every step endeavoured to promote tranquillity, and affection to his person. Being powerfully supported by Eribertus, many princes joined in his train; but, in passing through the Italian cities, it was with great difficulty that he could restrain the ferocity and bad disposition of his Germans from creating many sanguinary scenes. One of these occurred in Ravenna, where the inhabitants were treated like slaves and brutally handled, to glut the anger and avidity of the Germans. At length, on his arrival at Rome, he was crowned Emperor of the Romans, by the name of Conrad II., by Pope John XIX. (as the successor of St. Peter was then entitled), in the year 1026. His wife, Gisela, the daughter of Erimagnus, Duke of Germany, was crowned with him. Rodolphus III., King of Burgundy, and Canute, King of England, were present at the ceremony, and accompanied him to his palace.

Coronation of the Emperor Conrad II.

During this ceremonial a dispute arose between a Roman and a German for a vile ox's hide. It began with blows, proceeded with stones, and ended by an appeal to arms; and, after a stout resistance on the part of the Roman people against the German army, the former were obliged to fly, and were almost totally massacred. The remain-

der, although humbled, and in a wretched condition, were constrained the next day to pass barefooted before the emperor, — the freemen with their swords unsheathed, the slaves with a knot round their necks, — declaring themselves ready to obey him, and asking pardon. What a beautiful contrast between the guardians and defenders of the Roman people in their frocks and mitres, with these brave men in their helmets and togas! Such was the triumph over a nation overcome more by its prejudices than by force, and under such solemn circumstances.

Quarrel in Rome between the Milanese and Romans.

The Milanese also, who accompanied their archbishop, the proud Eribertus, had a dispute with the Ravennese, who were led by their pastor, about a point of precedence between these two dignitaries; and, after no inconsiderable quantity of blood had been shed, the latter were obliged to retire. This dispute, to their shame be it spoken, was not even then terminated without a decision of a council, which, being in favour of the Milanese as the most powerful, produced new tumults and fresh bloodshed.

Return of Conrad into Germany.

After these gratifying spectacles, the emperor passed to Beneventum and Capua, which he subdued; and having empowered the Normans to inhabit these regions, and defend the confines against the Greeks, he returned into Germany to repress some disturbances which had arisen there.

It would appear as though the Crescenzi at this time were dead, since they took no part in the transactions of the Conrads. The office of

prefect of the city was, however, exercised by Stefanus, one of that family; although all the other offices of state were filled by the Tusculan counts, who were now all powerful. In the mean time the sons and nephews of Gregory, one of the most influential of these counts, usurped in their turn the pontifical throne, and with it all the temporal authority of Rome, overcoming the weak by force, and the strong by bribery and the imperial power. If the ecclesiastical annals are to be believed, bishops were not wanting who reproached, indirectly at least, Benedict VIII. for his ill conduct. It is related, indeed, that this pope, called the Great, in contradistinction to his nephew Benedict, was seen not only by St. Odilo, the celebrated Abbot of Clugni, but by a certain Bishop of Carpipure, upon a black horse, and that he said he was suffering horrible punishments, from which he should not be released until a great treasure which he had concealed in a certain place, which he pointed out, had been distributed to the poor; adding, that the donations which he had made in his lifetime were unavailable, as they had been extorted from the unhappy.*

These opinions, fantastic as they may seem, suffice to give an idea of these pontiffs, usurpers of popular rights, and of the highest seat in Christendom; and it is curious to observe the ecclesiastical writers sometimes exerting themselves to prove their legitimacy—laden with

* Card. Baron. Ann. Eccles. "Heu!" inquit, "nonne tu es Papa Benedictus quem defunctum liquidum novimus?"

every vice, destitute of every virtue, and supported only by imperial authority and gold, — and at others, waging a bitter war against the same authority, unmindful of the contradictions of good sense, or their own maxims and opinions.

We now pass to the consideration of the religious opinions and doctrines prevalent at the period we have been surveying.

From the commencement of the ninth century*, any religious tenets which encouraged the belief of prodigies and miracles had been gaining ground in Italy. At that time miraculous legends were written, with the pious intention, perhaps, of strengthening faith in the doctrines of the church of Rome, but, in reality, calculated to mislead the simple and unwary, and to excite incredulity and scepticism in those possessed of the spirit of enquiry. Princes and people in authority, carried away also by the current, no longer pardoned offences of any kind, nor respected the marriage vows, but usurped the rights of mankind, as well as their possessions; interrupting the communications between the provinces and cities, and playing the part of brigands and assassins.† The convents and the congregations of the regular canons were furnished with the best establishments for the relief of the infirm, of bastards, of the old, and of widows; but, in progress of time, these priories and religious institutions were corrupted by riches, and became the reward of courtly flat-

* Muratori, 931. an. Ann. d' Italia.
† Muratori, Ann. d' Ital. 876.

terers, hypocrites, misers, and impostors. When thus the monasteries and other holy establishments had increased in number and property, — when they had acquired great territories, and become possessed of castles and small towns, — they passed with a feudal title; and any vassal who desired a recompence for his services was created an abbot or a bishop. It was then a common occurrence to see these personages go to war at the head of their people, surrounded by their concubines and vassals, sacking cities, and tyrannising over the inhabitants wherever opposed to them. In spite of such enormities, the monasteries continued to amass substantial wealth from the pious credulity of both rich and poor, who continually contributed to their depravity. True it is, that no favourable circumstance was neglected by the monks which could contribute to the advantage of their monastery, as is still the custom in these days; their great glory consisting in the exercise of their individual influence to its aggrandisement. Thus the personal reputation of each monk who had deserved well of his monastery was established, and gave him a better title than his brethren to its offices and dignities.

At the close of the tenth century, a similar frenzy advanced to such a degree, that it was every where reported that the end of the world would be accomplished at the termination of the thousandth year from the birth of Christ*; both

* Mosheim, Eccl. History, Tenth Century, part ii. p. 419.

because it constituted an equal number, and was the time announced by the prophecies. Thus, if a malefactor were condemned to death, he thought he was fulfilling his duty towards God and his relations by leaving a portion of his ill-gained wealth to some church or monastery, wherewith to nourish its indolence and depravity. Thence arose the idea of praying for souls after their departure, with masses and songs prepared for the occasion, as the only mode of saving them from perdition.*

The credulous multitude, abused in order to carry their copious offerings to the altar as a ransom for their sins, grew no better under these practices. Confiding in other men's benevolences and prayers, they gave more indulgence than ever to their passions; so that neither the civil nor criminal laws were observed, for want of public energy in making them respected. On this account, usurpations, adulteries, and homicide were an every-day practice; nor could any redress be obtained for them. Whoever received an injury sought to avenge it with his own hand, and obtain that justice for himself which the law would not afford him. In some measure to mitigate this general corruption of social order, the Truces of God were published, by which it was forbidden on any day of the week, for the sake of the love of God, to attempt the life or injure the

* In the year 1000 the commemoration of the dead was ordained by Pope John.—V. Manenti, Stor. d'Orvieto.

property of any enemy. This law was called "The Truce of God," because it was pretended that it was sent from heaven; and every one who, having accepted, violated it, was subject to excommunication and exile, whilst they who rigidly observed it were absolved from all their offences. The same corrupt laws admitted persons to avenge themselves whenever the guilt of their enemy was apparent, and known to the public ministers. Thus discords and animosities were transmitted from the father to the son and the grandson; and, assassinations being frequent, most people went about with arms both for assault and self-defence.

Legends of the Virgin.

About the middle of the tenth century, the legends as to the life of the blessed Virgin began to make their more frequent appearance; and amongst their authors, Henry, Abbot of Lobia, and Bishop Adeobaldus, particularly distinguished themselves. Prayers were put up to heaven through the intercession of its queen, and after her, of all the great and little saints, as the confessions of those times demonstrate. This species of devotion, in process of time, gained ground, not only in Italy, but in the whole Roman world.

Auricular confession under its present form was unknown at this period. Confession, in the ancient church, was a declaration of sins made in public rather than in private, and confined to general topics. It was, moreover, seldom resorted to but on the point of death, and in the presence

of many abbots, bishops, and priests: such was the confession of Otho III. before his death; to which, undoubtedly, the inferior classes would be conformable. Unquestionably, the moral treatises which are now read by confessors were not then in existence; nor were weak consciences afflicted and tormented till reason had lost her sway. St. Peter Damianus alone, in his work entitled "Gomorrenus," conveys an obscure idea of what Father Sanchez and others have done, in the sequel, to scandalise the sense and feelings of their readers.

Rage of monachism.

The deprivation of tranquillity and repose continually attracted a great number of young men to the monastic and clerical life, and filled the country and the city with its devotees. But the monks more particularly infested the provinces, induced to embrace a life which promised leisure and abundance, even at the sacrifice of their liberty. They made vows, as they still do, of poverty and continence, in the secret hope of adhering ultimately to neither. To these places of refuge the slave, the wretched, and the criminal usually resorted; and if they effected any works of piety, they were seasonably ascribed to a miracle. Nor were the secular clergy confined to the vows or laws of chastity. The priests and bishops lived with their wives and sons from the first ages of the church; and it was only when monachism fully triumphed that disputes arose to tear lawful wives from the sides of their husbands, by calling them concubines and slaves.

In order to show the vast multiplication of the monasteries, it is sufficient to reflect that, at the

beginning of the eleventh century, there were forty in Rome, besides twenty nunneries, almost all of the order of St. Benedict, and sixty colleges of canons. The most celebrated monasteries were those of Monte Casino, Farfa, Subiaco, Classe, and Clugni in France. In this mass of monasteries, contention and effeminacy arose which it was frequently necessary to repress with secular authority. Albericus, Prince of Rome in the year 939, reformed by main force the monastery of Farfa; entering it with his troops, and assaulting and dispersing the monks. The quarrels of these same monks with the counts of Sabina, the near relations of the Crescenzi, with whom they often formed a single family, are much celebrated. When, by the contributions of the faithful and princes, the monks became proprietors of great territories and castles, they could not preserve their possessions except by acknowledging the counts as their lords, defending them by arms, and by great expenses at the imperial and papal courts. Their abbots, by these means, enjoyed a great reputation with the powerful men of the age, and exercised considerable influence over all the political revolutions of the times.

At this period, moreover, the condition of the human race was most wretched. The provinces of Sicily and Calabria, occupied by the Saracens, were compelled to embrace the religion of Mohammed. The other provinces of Italy, immersed in ignorance and barbarity, were universally distracted by petty warfare between the counts, marquesses, and cities. Those which still re-

tained the republican forms, being the same which had recovered their liberty, were divided into factions, one siding with the emperor, the other with the church; or one with the pope chosen by the monks or the imperial faction, and the other with the one chosen by the Crescenzi and the Roman people. They fought likewise for the aggrandisement of their own territory at the expense of some count, or marquess, or neighbouring republic*; and the commercial cities made war in jealousy of each other's trade. In Upper Italy, the Archbishop of Milan gradually made himself a despotic sovereign, by harassing the circumjacent cities, and reducing every thing to obedience by force of arms. The Germans, however, when they descended into Italy, caused the terrible effects of their ferocity and barbarity to be felt; and Pavia was more than once sacked and burnt. Ravenna, and Rome herself, were melancholy examples of their revenge. The country people still lived in slavery, and were sold, together with the farm and the estate, under the appellation of *manentes*, or slaves of the soil. The counts and marquesses, who were thus denominated according to the extent of territory which, by the commission of the king or emperor, they were empowered to command, were called vassals; the nobles who held castles in fee in the country, *valvassori;* and the population subject to them were in a state of ancient slavery. I shall give in the sequel some notice of the rebellion of the

* Manenti, Storia di Orvieto.

valvassori and slaves against Eribertus, Archbishop of Milan, in proof of these assertions. True it is that this ambitious prelate, in exercising his people to war, aroused them from their mortal slumber; for which Bernardino Corio does not hesitate to call him the regenerator of the liberties of Lombardy.*

Isidore Mercator, the inventor of the false decretals.

It may not be amiss, before we treat of the heresies which were prevalent at this period, to observe that a certain Isidore Mercator, in the eighth century, when the Western church exerted the utmost efforts to separate herself from the patriarchs of the East, or found herself entirely free from the contradictions which she had experienced from the patriarchs of Constantinople, was the first who tried to found the new empire and monarchy of the popes on the superstition and ignorance of the people.† It is allowed by all critics that he was the inventor of the false decretals, which passed for real during the lapse of many ages. Isidore, according to a modern historian‡, already considered the desires of the popes as expressions of the divine will, to the promotion of which all measures were justly available. On his own part, he sought to contribute to them with all his power; and, accordingly, in conformity with the advice of the bishops, he published an informal compilation of

* Ben. Cor. Istoria di Milano, part i.

† "To blind the eyes of nations towards so many usurpations and crimes, the popes had need to maintain ignorance and superstition."— *Villiers on the Reformation.*

‡ De Potter.

letters and decrees of the earliest popes, from St. Clement to St. Silvester; a compilation which was then placed immediately after the pretended Canons of the Apostles, and which is now only known under the name of "The false Decretals." The style in which they are conceived, the common-place phrases which disfigure them, the quotations from St. Leo and St. Gregory in the mouths of popes who were dead before the birth of these fathers of the church, the inaccuracy of the dates; in short, the titles of patriarch, primate, archbishop, — titles entirely unknown to the primitive Christians, — all tend to prove the absurdity and falsehood of this collection, worthy only of the barbarous ages. The subject matter, moreover, of these pages evidently proves that they are forgeries. Every provincial council held without the approbation of the pope is censured in them; the primacy, and its absolute power over all bishops and the whole ecclesiastical body, is established; and the prerogative of appeal to the Holy See is extended to all imaginable questions of right and fact, temporal and spiritual, and to all sorts of persons.* The usurpation of the temporal rights of the church is a theme of constant observation; continual invectives are poured against pagans and heretics, strictly prohibiting them from accusing Christians, or seeking to libel them. The letter which contains this absurd prohibition gives a curious idea of the spirit of forgery which

* Fleury, Hist. Eccl. b. 44. p. 22. t. 9. p. 500. Parj. 1691.

actuated its author. It assumes that, even at that period, the ecclesiastical immunities were so far respected as to invalidate any action against a bishop or priest cited before the secular judges. This letter is written by Pope Caius, under the Emperor Dioclesian.* By these forged decretals, the right is attributed to the popes of spiritual and temporal punishments, of excommunication, of sending men to hell, or recommending them to paradise, at their pleasure. When the popes were thus armed with the spiritual thunder, they terrified the imaginations of mankind by its exercise; and capriciously disposed of princes, and of the will and well-being of their people, as best suited their own individual interests.

St. Nilo, a Greek monk.

While living, however, in such confusion, men were not wanting, furnished with virtue, to devote themselves to the service of God and the observations of his commandments. Such a man was St. Nilo, who, having contracted an unfortunate marriage, abandoned his wife, according to the custom of those times, and became a monk and hermit. A lover of the Holy Scriptures, he studied the best method of conducting himself well in this world, admiring the stupendous works of its Creator no less than the more stupendous one of the redemption of the human race. A proficient in his native and the Latin tongues, he nourished his piety by the perusal of the Greek

* Caii Pap. Epis. ad Feli. Episcop. apud David Blondel, in Pseudo Isidoro, p. 377. Geneva, 1628.

and Latin fathers; and was consulted as an oracle, and looked up to as a guide.

After having founded the monastery of Grotto Ferrata, and established the rules of his religious order, — which principally consisted in the profession of the strictest poverty, the contemplation of celestial objects, and that migratory system of life which is so destructive of domestic sympathies and habits, — St. Nilus died at the age of ninety-six, deservedly beloved; and, although his sanctioning the desertion of wives cannot be approved of, he was superior in many respects to the superstition of his times, and applied his heart and mind to the study of the Holy Scriptures, by which he acquired great prudence and virtue, and learned to be a despiser of worldly riches. Anno 1005.

Life of St. Romualdus.

His rival and contemporary among the Latins was Romualdus, born in 956 at Ravenna, a city then celebrated, of the illustrious family of the Onesti. In his youth he was a great admirer of the fair sex, and devoted himself to it. His knowledge was considerable, his piety exemplary, his activity indefatigable; and having established a number of religious communities, and amongst others that of Camaldoli, he died in 1027, and was honoured as a saint.*

From the lives of these two most celebrated

* His age is a matter of much dispute. The lessons of the church in the breviary, following perhaps the authority of St. Peter Damianus, make him 120 years old. Baronius, and many others, state him to have been seventy.

saints of their time, an inference may be drawn of the tendency of the Western church to a system of externals, applying itself solely to continual discipline and fasting, instead of the improvement of the heart. For the perusal of the sacred writings and spiritual lessons of the ancient fathers of the church, was substituted that of legends and decretals, and the Book of Canons, by which the whole Western church was governed. Images and relics of the saints acquired an excessive adoration; and continual discoveries were being made of the bodies of miracle-working saints. Impostors were to be found, appearing every day under new names and with fresh miracles, imposing on the credulity of the public, and amassing wealth by defrauding the pious multitude. Some of these impostors, too insolent in their practices, were discovered and punished, whilst others derived from them their whole fortune and subsistence. It went to such a pass, that an arm of St. Augustine was found and sold to William, Duke of Aquitaine, for 100 talents. The head of St. John the Baptist was dug up, and attracted an immense multitude of spectators, amongst whom was Robert, King of France.* The principal supporters of this religious mania were the crusaders; that is to say, those persons who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. These persons, on their return to their own country,

* "One head of John the Baptist (for there are many, and John was at last ἑκατον τα κεφάλας,) was found at the monastery of St. John of Angeli, at Saintange."—*Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* ann. 1010.

finding all their substance exhausted, exerted their utmost cunning to regain it; pretending that they had found some relics of the ancient martyrs or apostles, or some object relative to the life or death of our Saviour. By these means an immense number of persons, excited by religious curiosity, repaired to the places where these objects were exposed, and the churches and the provinces of which became enriched by them. With the same motive, in the year 1008, a portion of the rod of Moses was discovered in France, which attracted a vast number of visitors, both from that country and Italy. In 1014, some monks, on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, brought with them a part of the napkin with which our Saviour wiped the feet of the apostles at the Last Supper; and, in order to prove its authenticity, they passed it uninjured through the flames. This kind of miracles, which were in such favour with the ignorant multitude in those days, produces no effect, since chemical science has enabled us to penetrate into the hidden secrets of nature; and if history is diligently examined, we shall perceive that the human mind was occupied in the discovery of that science at this period. The alchemists perhaps, although persecuted as the followers of the devil, were not altogether extinct, and still read some books which laid open the discoveries of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The commercial cities of Italy, in communication with the East, acquired extraordinary knowledge, of which they availed

themselves disadvantageously to the morality and piety of the Christian church. About this time, too (the year 1000), the epoch at which, according to prediction, the world was to be at an end, men began to make fresh researches, and to build new churches, to repair the old ones, and to invent novelties. The prophecy of Daniel, which says, "Tempus, tempora, dimidium temporis," proving by experience to be inapplicable to the interpretation which the monks and ecclesiastics had generally given it, produced a new energy in the human mind: and if, at first, the wealth of the churches were aggrandised by profuse largesses, we shall hereafter see them struggling to preserve it. A disposition also to study was now induced: and a certain Guido, a monk of Pomposa, being called to Rome as a music-master, whilst very young, invented the scale or gamut of C notes, which was then esteemed miraculous.* Happily for him the matter took this turn; for otherwise he would have suffered death. The religious superstition was so strong, that any unusual effects of human nature were attributed to diabolical operations; and, in such instances, the reputed authors were either beheaded or burnt. Such was the fate of an unhappy wretch who had discovered the secret of making glass malleable. This sublime genius made a goblet of this glass; and, being conducted into the presence of Henry, in 1022, he threw it on the ground, when, in-

Guido Aretino, a famous musician, or Guy d' Arezzo. 1022.

* Erycius Puteanus (Vander Putten), added the seventh note to complete the octave, in the sixteenth century.

stead of breaking, it bent, and suddenly resumed its original shape. The ignorant emperor, believing him to be possessed with the devil, ordered him to be beheaded. Such were the obstacles which were presented by a superstitious religion to the civilisation of mankind.* But the greatest wonder of the religious spirit of this age was the dispute which was agitated in France, in two consecutive national councils expressly convoked for the occasion, and thence remitted to the decision of the pope; viz. Whether or not St. Martial were one of the apostles? — Various were the dissensions and opinions on this important point. Robert, King of France, St. Odilo, Abbot of Clugni, and others, declared in favour of him; saying that the name of St. Martial was written in the litanies of the saints, with the title of apostle, although his actions were unknown. The opinion of the English church being asked, it was replied, that he was venerated as an apostle by tradition, — and the decision of Rome finally established him in that character; and the prayer to be read for him in the service was written by the pope. From various acts, there is reason to believe that the perusal of the Old and New Testament was almost entirely abandoned; and that the ministers of the altar, engaged in continual controversies and quarrels for the maintenance of the temporal possessions of their church, thought of any thing rather than the discharge of their ministry. Towards the

* V. Baron, Ann. ad hunc ann. 1022.

year 1020, the Constantinopolitan church, too, appears to have emulated the ambition of the Latin; since she sent her then patriarch, laden with gold and silver, with a deputation to Pope John XIX., that he might be recognised as œcumenical patriarch of all the East, as his holiness was of the West. The temptation to John was very strong; and rumours were prevalent, both in Italy and France, of his disposition to assent. William, Abbot of Clugni, wrote very strong letters descriptive of the general indignation; which had the effect, it may be presumed, of not gratifying the patriarch. It may also be inferred, from the letters of Benedict IX., that the Constantinopolitan was again severed from the Latin church; nor will it be far from the truth to conjecture that the gold and silver remained at Rome, and the hopes were transported to Constantinople.

It is now necessary to say a few words on the two heresies which were agitated at this time, and of the effusion of human blood which they produced; the one that of the Manicheans*, the other of Berenger, as to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.† The first originated in the East, with Manes or Manichæus, in the third century, and, from the earliest periods of the church, was extensively dispersed both there and in the West,

* Mosheim, p. 430. vol. ii.

† There are some who think that the doctrines of Manes were derived from some ancient tradition of the Fall, corrupted and misunderstood.—V. Bp. Hurd. Others, again, pretend that they were a refinement of the doctrine of Zoroaster, the lawgiver of the Magi, mingled with that of Christianity.—V. D'Herbelot.

and even infected St. Augustine in his youth; but how long these religious tenets had existed unobserved in Italy, and how they came to blaze out so vigorously at the close of the tenth and the commencement of the eleventh century, is unknown. The fact is certain, that Robert, King of France, in the constant assemblage of councils for the establishment of fasts, festivals, sacred ceremonies, and other matters, discovered in 1017 that a lady, passing out of Italy into France, had imported with her the opinions of the Manicheans, and established her sect in the city of Orleans. To this place he instantly removed his council, and examined and convicted of heresy thirteen canons, all of whom he caused to be burnt in his presence. These martyrs suffered death with great constancy, without in any measure renouncing their opinions. The accounts given by the historians of this period are so mixed up with the marvellous, — legions of devils, instantaneous cures, and continual miracles, — that it is difficult to elicit the truth from them: but it would seem as if this species of heresy comprehended a denial of the mystery of the holy Trinity; the belief that heaven and earth had always existed; that sensual pleasures did not merit punishment in another world; that baptism was a spiritual invention; that the rights of matrimony were unjust; that eating flesh was infamous; and that the Redeemer, the crucifixion, and similar matters, were falsehoods and errors. Principles like these, professed by fanatics, could not be expiated without bloodshed in an age when,

according to Ditmarus, whoever eat flesh in Lent would break his teeth. Terrible persecutions broke out against them in France, and especially in Italy, which was more infested by them than any other country. Manenti relates that in Orvieto, in 1021, there was an engagement, in which the conduct of Eribertus, Archbishop of Milan, merits particular attention. He was informed by trusty spies that a great number of these heretics were in the Castle of Monforte; and suddenly moving with his army, he laid regular siege to the castle, and took it with all its inhabitants, whom he conveyed to Milan, where he had them examined, and found that in reality they were all Manicheans. Having vainly endeavoured to bring them to reason, a great portion submitted to be burnt (rather than be converted), according to the sentence of the magistrates of Milan, in opposition to the opinion of the archbishop. Lundulfus, the Milanese historian, thus relates the discourse which Girundus, the pope of these heretics, made in the presence of Eribertus: — "To God the Omnipotent Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I give thanks that thou hast caused me to be examined with so much care; and may he who knew you in the loins of Adam be pleased that you may live and die in his service, and be glorified with him in his kingdom for ever and ever! I will tell you the life of myself and of my brothers, and of the faith which we profess, no matter in what spirit you demand it. We praise virginity above all things, but especially in wives. Let her who is a virgin preserve her

virginity. Whoever is corrupted, may obtain a licence from our elder to preserve a perpetual chastity. None of us uses his wife carnally, but treats her as his mother or sister; we never eat flesh, but continually fast and pray. Our elders pray by turns night and day, so that no hour may pass away without prayer. We have passions in common with other men. None of us passes his life without torments, so that we may avoid eternal ones. We acknowledge and confess the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We believe that we are bound and unbound by those who have the power to do so. We retain the Old and New Testament and the Holy Canons, reading them constantly." The Archbishop Eribertus did not hesitate to interrogate him in order the better to ascertain the extravagance of this sect, to whom answering he said, "that the Father was the Creator of every thing from the beginning; that the Son was the soul of man, beloved of God; the Holy Ghost, the intelligence of the Holy Scriptures: that Jesus Christ was the soul sensually born of the Virgin; that is to say, of the Holy Scripture: the Holy Ghost, the intelligence of the Holy Scriptures with devotion. That if mankind had been reciprocally joined in such a manner as not to feel corruption, the human race would, nevertheless, have been propagated without copulation, like the bees. That they acknowledged as pontiff not the Roman one, but another, who daily visited the brethren dispersed over the whole earth; and that when God gave it to him, they then received forgiveness for their sins. That

they killed their nearest relative sooner than allow him to die, and other similar abominations." Lundulfus the Elder, who flourished in 1100, and who wrote of these matters, of which he was partly a spectator, assures us that the unmarried priests were suspected of this heresy. Before this period, however, the discussions were not begun with regard to the celibacy of the priests, or the concubinage of that class of persons, which arose soon after the death of Eribertus. In the mean while this heresy, which acquired the general name of Manichean, had affected the principal cities of Italy, and particularly the republic of Orvieto, which was then very populous, and full of enterprising spirits. The interminable wars which had raged in Calabria between the different nations which pretended to govern it, and the invasions of the Saracens on the Roman coasts, had spread over that city a vast number of persons of all provinces and nations; and the republican forms of its government, forms corrected by Pope Silvester II., attracted men of genius to its bosom, and caused it specially to flourish. Its confines were extended on the side of the Maremma Senese to the sea, and claimed as dependencies Orbitello, Port Ercole, Monte Orgentario, and other places; and, on the other side, Monte Armiata, and the small republic of Chiusi. But its internal factions, and particularly its religious ones, checked its ulterior aggrandisement; and its dependence on the church was the cause of its final ruin. Thus, as is always the case with opinions which are prosecuted with fire and

sword, that they assume a thousand forms, are lost, and re-appear still the same, it happened that many opinions entertained by this sect in progress of time became general and sacred principles, embraced and professed by all Christendom. Such were those of apparent or pretended chastity and poverty in the ministers of the altar; of continual abstinence and rigorous fast; of perpetual prayers in the church; and other extravagancies, which continually gained ground. At that time, however, and under their then forms, these kinds of heresies were universally persecuted and destroyed. St. Simeon the Armenian, for example, having gone to Rome, to visit the famous tomb of the apostles of the holy city of the West, set himself to pray in the church of St. John Lateran, whilst Pope Benedict V. was holding a council there. Being observed by one of the clergy in a devout and humble attitude, he was taken for one of the heretics; and, being pointed out to the people accordingly, was suddenly set upon to be stoned. The most obvious signs of his heresy were his tattered garments, his devout bearing, and attenuated exterior. An Armenian bishop present at the tumult, luckily recognising, and interceding for him with the pope, succeeded in calming the popular effervescence; and making him sing aloud the Nicene Creed, instead of being stoned he was worshipped as a saint. Quitting Rome, where he had so nearly lost his sanctity, Simeon went to the monastery of St. Porlinone at Mantua, where he died. Ecclesiastical

St. Simeon the Armenian.

history relates, that before his death he caught a lion that had escaped from the seraglio of Rachilda the wife of Boniface, prince of that city, and led him back, amid the admiration of the spectators, to his chains. There is no story of these times unaccompanied by a miracle.

Heresy of the eucharist.

The other heresy which excited great attention at this period related to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. While Robert, King of France, was assembling and personally presiding at frequent councils in Paris, Leutheric, Bishop of Sens, declared his opinion that the semblance and shadow only of the body and blood of our Saviour were contained in the eucharist. The king, rising in full assembly at the annunciation of such a novelty, and severely reprimanding

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him, threatened him with spiritual and temporal condemnation. The bishop this time held his tongue, and let the royal indignation have its vent; but, on returning to his diocese, he incessantly

Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres.

promulgated his creed. Fulbert, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, an Italian by birth, and very eminent for his learning at that time, attached himself to the side of the king, and defended his opinions with great warmth and acrimony. He gave lectures on theology, and one of his most distinguished scholars was Berenger, of whom we shall have to speak in the sequel. Berenger constantly contradicted his master on these points, and was of the same opinion as Lauterus. But Fulbertus undertook to confute these tenets by his writings, which procured him, in 1007, the bishopric of Chartres. It was in these circum-

stances that he composed a Latin hymn, which may still be read in the Ecclesiastical Annals, in tolerably good Latin. He afterwards became a great defender of the rights of the church against those of princes, and usurpers, and sovereigns.

The heresy, meanwhile, which I shall hereafter call the heresy of Berenger, spread in many churches amongst the best-informed persons of the time, and especially in France, where Berenger was continually preaching. His opinions were supported by reasons drawn from the Holy Scriptures themselves, and from a book which was written by a certain Scotsman who lived in the time of Charlemagne. It also appears that some particular opinions were entertained as to dead bodies; since, in the Codex Cassinese, is narrated the following miracle: — A certain monk, called Canoparius, died in the monastery of St. Cosma and Damianus, on the Via Sacra; and, whilst all the assembled monks were praying for his soul, his corpse was liberated by a legion of devils which was lodged there. In the time of Cardinal Baronius the epitaph, which was inscribed on marble in the above church, was to be seen, composed in verse and prose, the latter of which ran thus: — "I pray all of you who come to see me to pray for me; and, by the charity which it is not permitted to violate, let no one either put his own corpse or any other upon mine: let him who shall presume to do so be accursed, and bound by a perpetual anathema. I believe, while my Redeemer liveth, that in my

Death and epitaph of the monk Canoparius.

own flesh I shall behold again God my Saviour
1004. from the incarnation of O. S. I. C."

Such, in general, were the religious tenets which prevailed in these ages of ignorance, and which served, in the sequel, as the models of our Christian morals and virtue. The inextinguishable source of these opinions were the monasteries, and the colleges of regular canons, which, enfolding in their bosom men of all kinds and conditions, employed them for their own particular aggrandisement and ambition. The homicide, the adulterer, the usurer, the fornicator, and the thief, were saved by embracing a garment of St. Benedict, or some such bauble, and shortly after re-appeared in society as zealous promulgators of Christian faith. This mass of impostors were masters of vast districts and territories, and, holding the colonists and inhabitants who cultivated them in slavery, became so many rulers, who, by constant vexations of every kind, finished by depopulating and rendering them inhospitable and barren. Individuals, too, amongst them, of greater boldness and talent, elevated themselves over the rest; and, by inventing constant devotions and religious forms, became abbots, and honoured by the title of saints. It was these abbots who, impatient of the yoke of their own ordinary, repaired to Rome to shake him off, and render themselves independent. It was they who, carrying to an extravagant point the power specially delegated by Jesus Christ to St. Peter, to unloose and to bind, annihilated

almost all the other bishops, by attributing all the ecclesiastical power to the Roman pontiff. They elevated St. Peter in the same way over all the other apostles, attributing to him solely all authority, and rendering every thing subordinate to him. Thus they called the pope the Vicar of St. Peter, because St. Peter was equal to Christ; and when such a prejudice began to diminish, the popes entitled themselves vicars, not of St. Peter, but of Christ. It was on this account only that the question could never be reasonably discussed in the Council of Trent, whether bishops were of divine institution, or merely simple delegates of the pope; in which latter character they approved of almost all its decrees. The abbots, by their management and influence, rendered independent of their ordinary, guided the flock of Christ by a different path to a different pasture from that of their legitimate shepherd, and inundated the church with ignorant and superstitious priests, who had no other design than to satisfy their own ambition, or that of their superiors. The regular clergy, rendered useless by the overflowing of this turbulent stream, were reduced to silence, and persecuted; and human as well as divine knowledge was either annihilated, or degraded to the interpretation of the Book of Canons, which, as emanating from the vicars of St. Peter, was esteemed superior to the church itself, or looked upon as another gospel. By this means, the provinces uncultivated became a desert; the cities divided by intestine wars and factions; and the flock and heritage of

Christ dilapidated and dispersed.* I shall have occasion, in the course of this history, to elucidate these facts more particularly than I have here attempted. There are many other creeds and religious institutions which I might have mentioned; but, as they were drawn up and established principally under the government of Gregory VII., I have thought it better to introduce them when connected with some of the political facts which marked the career of this illustrious and memorable personage.

We are now arrived at the point when this Introductory Compendium may be discontinued, and the same subject in future be treated in conjunction with that of the life of Gregory VII. (C.)

* The bishops, on the other hand, reduced by degrees to the subjection of the Roman pontiff, imitated him, so far as they could, in pomp and vainglory, causing themselves to be almost worshipped by their subjects. Then began the pomps, and cavalcades, and feasts, with which the bishops were wont to be honoured on their first entrance into their see, to make them objects of pomp and power to the dazzled multitude. At length triumphant arches, in the manner of the Roman emperors, were erected to them in their capital cities. So much vanity and worldly-mindedness, as is used in our days, did not escape the famous Muratori, who, monk and devotee as he was, did not hesitate to raise his voice against such ecclesiastical audacity and abuses.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION.

A.

" CRESCENTIUS crut qu'en soumettant de nouveau Rome à l'empire d'Orient, il assureroit à la république des secours d'argent, et la délivreroit à la fois de l'ambition artificieuse des papes, de la morgue et de la violence des monarques Allemands. Des ambassadeurs Grecs, chargés en apparence d'une mission pour Othon, furent appelés à Rome, où ils s'arrêtèrent, et où ils ébauchèrent avec Crescentius le pacte solemnel qui devoit précéder cette grande réunion.

" Si les projets de Crescentius avoient pu recevoir une entière exécution, si Philagathus avoit pu se maintenir sur le trône pontifical, le sort entier de l'Europe et celui de la religion auroient pu être changés. L'Italie auroit pu assurer son indépendance, en balançant les forces des deux empires; si elle avoit augmenté ses relations avec les Grecs, elle auroit pu recevoir d'eux une culture plus prompte, et peut-être leur communiquer en retour un esprit de liberté, un courage, et des vertus, qui auroient sauvé l'empire d'Orient de sa chûte. D'autre part, le pouvoir des papes ne se seroit jamais relevé. Les Italiens avoient peu de considérations pour eux; les Grecs étoient jaloux de leurs prétentions à la suprématie, et les nations septentrionales, qui, par leur respect pour le saint-siége, ont fondé tout sa puissance, se seroient détachées d'un pape qu'elles auroient vu sous l'influence des Grecs. Mais,

avant que les troupes qu'on attendoit de Constantinople, pour appuyer cette révolution, eussent débarqué en Italie, Othon III. entra de nouveau à Rome, et Jean XVI. tomba entre les mains de ses ennemis." — V. *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age de Sismondi*, vol. i. cap. vii. p. 162.

"Au commencement du onzième siècle, la ville de Rome fut de nouveau ébranlée par une lutte presque ignorée entre les amis de la liberté, ceux des empereurs et ceux des papes. Un fils de Crescentius, nomme Jean, avoit hérité et du crédit de son père sur le peuple Romain, et de son amour pour la liberté. Vers l'an 1010, il avoit rendu à la république son antique forme, des consuls, un sénat composé de douze sénateurs seulement, et des assemblées du peuple. Lui-même, généralement désigné par le titre de Patrice, donnoit l'impulsion à la république naissante; un second Crescentius, peut-être son frère, sous le titre de préfet de Rome, administroit la justice, et présidoit aux tribunaux. . . . . Un mélange bizarre de grandeur d'âme et de foiblesse entroit dès cette époque dans le caractère des Romains; et nous verrons leur inconséquence se manifester pendant toute la durée de cette histoire. Un mouvement généreux vers les grandes choses faisoit place tout-à-coup à l'abattement; ils passoient de la liberté la plus orageuse, à la servitude la plus avilissante." — Id. p. 166.

"Dès les premières années de la minorité de Henri IV., le moine Ildebrand acquit une haute influence sur l'église et sur l'empire. La trempe de son âme l'appeloit aux succès les plus éminens; car, à la honte de la société, ce n'est pas par des vertus aimables, mais souvent par des défauts ou des vices, que l'on gouverne les hommes. Dans le caractère d'Ildebrand, on trouvoit toute l'énergie de volonté qui appartient à une ambition démesurée, toute la dureté d'un être qui, dans le cloître, étoit devenu étranger à la nature humaine, et qui n'avoit jamais aimé

personne. Comme ce moine avoit appris à réprimer toutes ses affections, les puissances de son âme impétueuse s' étoient toutes dirigées vers l'accomplissement de ses volontés. Ce qu'il projetoit une fois, il en faisoit le but de sa vie; il l'appeloit justice et vérité, il se persuadoit à lui-même, avant de persuader aux autres, que son ambition étoit son devoir. Il avoit vu l'église dependre de l'empire; il soutint que l'empire dépendoit de l'église.

" Avant d'être porté lui-même au saint-siége, Ildebrand dirigea pendant vingt ans les élections des papes. Du vivant encore de Henri III., il avoit été rendu dépositaire de toute l'autorité du sénat et du peuple de Rome; et c'est alors qu'étant lui-même à la cour de l'empereur, il avoit élu Victor II. Il fut l'âme de la cour de Rome pendant les pontificats d'Etienne IX., de Nicolas II., et d'Alexandre II.; en sorte qu'on peut s'étonner qu'à chaque vacance du trône pontifical, il n'y ait pas été porté lui-même long-temps avant l'année 1078, époque de son élection; mais sans doute que son caractère dur et impérieux écartoit de lui des suffrages du peuple." — Id. p. 175.

B.

THE Chronicle of Farfa is one of those few authentic documents which yet remain to elucidate the history of these times; and, as the facts relating to the family of the Crescenzi are strongly supported by it, I will shortly relate why it was written.

The monastery of Farfa, in Sabina, was one of the first in Italy, and depended, like that of Monte Cassino, immediately on the emperor. The Chronicle itself is nothing more than a catalogue of the effects which the abbots received from the contributions of the faithful and of princes, and which were confirmed to it by the emperor,

every time a new abbot received the investiture from him. The popes, almost always opposed to the abbot, for preserving his fidelity to his benefactor and sovereign, contested the right of investiture with the German princes, and claimed it themselves in common with any other ecclesiastical benefice. The Chronicle, in a long narrative of facts, proves the unjust pretensions of the Roman court, and thus defends the imperial rights: — "Hæc idcirco omnia brevi stylo et scriptis autentioribus et autoritatibus decerpere audimus, ut veridica relatione ostenderemus omnes pontifices Romanæ sedis imperiali edicto post electionem semper confirmatos; et Italiam totam semper habuisse imperatorios procuratores, rectores, patricios, exarchos, et duces: qui imperatoria jura et R. P. potentissime possidentes electi sint nullo modo præsutatus habere potuerunt sublimitatem, nisi imperatoris obtinerint consensionem."

A much more complete copy of this Chronicle than the one printed by Muratori exists, in manuscript, in the Barberini Library at Rome. The following are the most interesting passages in it relating to the Crescenzian family: — "Johannes Papa, qui appellatus est Major, ingressus Papatium satis exaltavit quemdam nepotem suum nomine Benedictum, deditque Theoderandam uxorem satis nobilem filiam Crescentii, qui vocabatur a caballo marmoreo, et comitatum Sabinensem dedit ei, et plures alios. Johannes Abbas sæcularibus notitus deditus de ciboriis et deliciis diversis præfatæ Theodorandæ inserviebat."

He afterwards relates how a dispute arose between the abbot and count, and how the latter forcibly occupied some castles belonging to the monastery; and thus gives an account of the death of Crescenzius, in 998: — "Jussu Ottonis Imperatoris Crescentius interfectus est, et Gregorii Papæ, qui nimis desueta placita intra Romam exercebant, quorum territus pavore Crescentius comes (that is, the son of Benedict, Count of Sabina), quæ sicut nobis pactum imperatore et papa scientibus, et refutavit medietatem præ-

dictæ annis et Ecclesiam Sigitate cum duobus castellis, unum brevem testatum habemus; et ego rogavi illi testium genus de alia medietate cum castello Tribucæ. Quo facto, Romæ prælibatus Crescentius venit illuc levitatis causa; quem imperator et papa capientes, jusserunt patri ejus ut redderet Cere quibus abstulerat, quot fecit tunc in presentia eorum promisit se facturum, et egressus de Roma fugit ille; quo viso imperator et papa nimis irati post eum properarunt, et papa secum me ire præcepit, dicens mihi: 'Veni mecum ad Cere eo pacto, ut si Comes Benedictus reddiderit mihi ipsam civitatem recipiat filium, et stet finis inter nos. Sin autem filium ejus suspendi faciam, ipse vidente, et tibi restituam tribunea, et tunc ipse ad furcam duceretur, ligatis post tergum manibus, oculisque panniculo strictis:' videns talia, pater reddivit civitatem et liberavit filium. Eo die Romam reversi sumus, et cum die sequenti Sabinis venissemus, manibus nostris firmavimus tertium genus, et nostros ad eum direximus legatos ut acciperet illud."

According to this account, all the family of Crescenzi were pledged to sustain the rights of the Roman pontiff; and Otho encountered a more serious resistance than the generality of historians admit. He then proceeds:—"Mortuo vero ipso Imperatore Johannes Crescentii filius ordinatus est Patricius, qui Johannem et Crescentii filios prædicti comites viri dilectos consanguineos amare cœpit: completis vero post hæc duobus annis Crescentius supradictus abstulit nobis turpiter eamdem custem, nec est recordatus anathema quod pater ejus fecit ex corde."

This warfare between the monks and Crescenzi continued till the latter were silenced, and the monastery destroyed by the power which the popes had established over the Romans. I am unwilling to trouble the reader with any more extracts from this barbarous Latin; but Baronius reports two epitaphs which were existing in his time in the church of St. Alexius, on the Aventine Mount, in which mention is made of a Crescentius with the title

of Duke — perhaps of Spoleto and Tuscany, one of which it may be worth while to transcribe: — "Corpore hic recubat Crescentius inclitus ille — eximius Civis Romanus: Dux quoque magnus — magnis magna proles generatur ab alta — Johanne Patre, Theodora Matre, nitescens quem Christus animarum amans, mediusque peritus — corrupuit languore pio longe ut ab omni — spe mundi lapsus prostratus limina santi — martiris invicti Bonifatii amplexus et illic — se Domino tradidit habitumque monacorum adeptus, quod templum donis auctuvit et agris," &c.

The aforesaid sacred annalist is of opinion that the present Cenci family is descended from them. If so, the Crescenzi must have reached to the time of the famous Beatrice Cenci, who, with almost all her relations, was condemned to death by the pope for the murder of her father. The present family, springing from a collateral branch, are far from emulating the glory of their ancestors. One of them, a canon of St. Peter's, still living, was one of the non-juring priests under Pius VII., who, on his return to Rome, exercised his ministry with great success; and took advantage of it to seduce two or three young female penitents: for which he was accused, convicted, and condemned to death. Cardinal Gonsalvi, in consideration of his previous merits, transmuted the punishment into confinement in the convent of Valentina; from which, being shortly restored to full liberty, he became deacon of the canons of the first church in the world — that of St. Peter.

C.

Should the day ever arrive when the people shall return to the path of reason, and dispassionately reflect on the character of those whom they were accustomed to venerate, they would undoubtedly laugh at their own cre-

dulity, and be ashamed of their own folly. In order to give a simple idea of the bishops of the Romish church who were appointed after the return of Pius VII., I shall relate the following facts: — In Rome the nomination of bishops proceeds always from the Uditor of the pope, who is styled "uditor santissimo." This officer is almost always a curiale of the city, who, through practice at the bar, has acquired some reputation. In the year 1819, a man who had rendered some service to Pius VII. in his misfortunes was raised to the post of "Uditor santissimo;" in which situation he neither changed his inclinations nor habits. He made bishops of his dependents, adherents, and friends; bringing some of them late in life from the country where they had long resided, and raising them to this dignity. Their only merit consisted in having intrigued with him in the late government of the French, and having refused the oath. Such were the bishops of Perugia, Rieti, and many others whose names I forbear to mention. These men, placed at the head of their churches, became extremely tyrannical, and propagated the most absurd superstition and idolatry. I shall not enumerate all the charges of egotism and brutality which were publicly brought against them; but cannot forbear from mentioning, that a Bishop of Nocera had a girl, who was pregnant by him, scourged to death; and that a cardinal archbishop carried into his diocese the rigour of the Spanish Inquisition, which he had learned during his residence as Papal Nuncio at Madrid. Of this worthy prelate I must say a little more. He was the younger son of a princely family at Rome, who, being caught by his brother in adultery with his wife, was the cause of the following tragical catastrophe: — The injured husband, suddenly departing from his home, repaired to Paris; where, having in a few years dissipated his patrimony, he died in great misery and affliction. Our worthy friend, in the mean time, embraced the ecclesiastical profession, became nuncio and archbishop, and carried his

ambition to such a height, that in the year 1829, by enforcing the special privilege and distinction which he possessed as an archbishop of refusing the Baldacchino* to the Virgin, he excited amongst the people a commotion which nearly proved fatal to him.

* The Baldachin is a canopy of rich silk, erected in Roman Catholic ceremonies over the altar, and carried over the host. — "Baldakinus; baldekinus; pannus omnium ditissimus, cujus utpote stamen ex filo auri, subtemen ex serico tegitur, plumario opere intertextus, sic dictus, quod Baldacco, seu Babylone in Perside, in occidentales provincias deferretur." — *Vincentius Bellov.* lib. xxxii. cap. xxx. Du Cange.

LIFE AND PONTIFICATE

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, EDUCATION, AND ACTS OF THE MONK HILDEBRAND BEFORE HIS ACCESSION TO THE PAPACY.

Opinions on the origin of Hildebrand.

THE ancient and modern historians are divided in their opinions respecting the origin of Hildebrand: the former represent him to have been of low extraction, the latter, of more noble birth. After an impartial examination of the conflicting authorities*, I am disposed to prefer the decla-

* A difficult question arises on the very outset of any enquiry into the life of Hildebrand, as to his origin, and the period of his birth. Otho of Frisinga, who wrote in 1150, and Paulus Bernriedensis, in 1120, followed by Cardinal Baronius, describe him to be of low origin. Paul, moreover, says that he was the son of a certain carpenter at Soana, by name Bonicius. The Bollandists followed the opinion of Baronius, and said that he became a monk in the monastery

ration of Manenti, that the family of Hildebrand was conspicuous shortly after 1000; and from the documents quoted by Monaldeschi, am of opinion that Hildebrand was born about the year 1020, in Soana, — and that his father was Bonicius, a citizen of Orvieto, which was then extending its claim even to the Maremma of Tuscany.

From his earliest youth, Hildebrand evinced a more than ordinary degree of ability, a strong and determined character — capable of conception, and powerful in execution. It is uncertain

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of Mount Aventine. Manenti, in his "History of Orvieto," and after him Monaldeschi, in his "Historical Memoirs," quote a document, found among the archives of that city, which says that Hildebrand ennobled his house — made Soana a city — raising it into a bishopric, and conferring it, with all the adjoining country, as a patrimony on his family (A). A certain Tiberius Petracci, as also Father Soldani, both monks of Vallambrosa, discussed this intricate point with great warmth; and the latter, especially, established Hildebrand to be the son of Benzone, nephew to Hildebrand, and great nephew to Count Jeffrey; and, consequently, related to St. John Gualberti, of the Florentine Lords of Buondelmente. The "Florentine Novelist" opposes Father Soldani with two novels, printed in 1749, in which he proved the poverty and humble extraction of our hero. These two athletic champions of frivolity fought for a long time; and the sacred congregation decreed, on the 11th of January, 1673, that St. Gregory VII., as a monk of Vallambrosa, acquired the honour of Roman martyrdom on the 21st of May.* Father Soldani, in his reply, asserts (V. La Storia Litteraria del Padre Zaccaria, tom. ii. p. 246.), that the whole story of Paulus Bernriedensis is false, and that the Bollandists led him into error.

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* This decree, owing to some fraud, according to Navaes, in his Life of Gregory VII., was never executed.

whether he went to Rome for a time, to the monastery of Saint Mark, on Mount Aventine, of which his uncle was abbot, as the Bollandists assert; or to that of Calvello, near Soana; or to Vallambrosa, as the monks of that order maintain. It seems probable, however, that Hildebrand should have gone to Rome for a time, to be near his uncle; and that, under his auspices, he should have been initiated into the Benedictine order. Educated then, according to the custom of those times, in ecclesiastical discipline, the epitaph attributed to him on his exaltation to the pontificate, and which implies that he was nobly brought up, is easily explained,—while, if he had been nobly born, it would have been otherwise expressed; as also that expression which is constantly found amongst his letters, of his having always been in the train of St. Peter.* The quickness of intellect which Hildebrand discovered soon placed him above every one of his own age. St. Bruno, Bishop of Segni, in his life of St. Leo IX.†, speaks of his noble disposition, clear understanding, and religious feelings; which quali-

* Lambertus Schafnaburgensis in Syncronas has this passage:—"Sedis apostolicæ nostro tempore, talem Deus gubernatorem, reverendæ inquam memoriæ Gregorium R. P. VII. imposuit, qui, sub decem suis antecessoribus a puero Roma nutritus et eruditus, omnes apostolicas traditiones diligentistime investigavit, et investigator studiosissime in actum referre curavit." S. Petrus Dam., in his life of St. Odilo, says that Gregory had for his masters, Laurence, Bishop of Amalfi, and John Grazianus, Archbishop of St. John "ante portam Latinam."

† Muratori, Rer. Ital. tom. iii. parte i. p. 348.

ties soon procured him distinction at Rome, and at the pontifical court.

His father, in process of time, connected him in ties of friendship with the family of the counts of Tusculum, which was then very powerful, and capriciously tyrannised over the Christian church. But Rome affording no opportunity for the acquirement of worldly knowledge, Hildebrand, at the age of sixteen, changed his abode, and repaired to the then vaunted monastery of Clugni, to study the canons and the political machinery of the monks and Rome. This same monastery was the retreat of Casimir, King of Poland; and Saint Odilo presided in it. When sovereigns became monks, monks became sovereigns; and, as riches and patronage always obtain influence, it cannot excite surprise if the monks of Clugni governed Gaul at their pleasure, and exercised a powerful interference in the revolutions of Rome, in spite of the apparently pious lives of the brotherhood, and the holy leisure in which they seemed to repose. Passing thus seven years in the study of morality and the canon law, Hildebrand succeeded in subduing those licentious dispositions which Nature had implanted in him. He saw by times that lust enervates and enfeebles the mind; and that, having invaded all mankind, it had penetrated into the cloisters and to the altar, and swept every thing before it like a raging torrent. He attained an extraordinary knowledge of the Holy Scriptures for those times, and acquired an eloquent and vigorous style, which enabled him to overcome every obstacle opposed

to his ambition. By these means he gained the admiration of the monks in general, and of Saint Odilo, who soon foresaw in him a reformer destined to make an epoch in ecclesiastical history.

Meanwhile the revolutions in Rome continued. In the month of July, 1033, the Roman princes conspired against John XIX., and obliged him to fly. One of the leaders was Stephen, of the family of the Crescenzi, who had never been able to submit to the ecclesiastical yoke. John, repairing to the Emperor Conrad, who was then crossing the Alps, succeeded, by the mere sound of the approach of the imperial army, in repressing the tumult, and reseating himself upon the throne. A great comet making its appearance at this time, spread terror through the ignorant and superstitious multitude; and nothing was predicted but sanguinary battles — the demise of sovereigns — earthquakes — and plagues. The death of Pope John, however, was the only prophecy which was verified, shortly after his restoration; and with that event terminated the precarious tranquillity of the Roman church. St. Peter Damianus, who was then living in splendour, describes in lively colours the scandalous scenes which occurred at the election of the new pope; and inveighs, reasonably enough, against the potentates who created him at their discretion.* Albericus, a Tusculan count, pretended that the papacy belonged of right to his family; and, having no one else to propose,

Death of Pope John XIX. Anno 1033.

* St. P. Damiani Epis. ad Narbonensem Episcopum.

nominated his son Theofilatus, who was scarcely ten years old.* His opponents were overcome by force and gold; and all, with common assent, concurred in the election of the young prince who was to preside over Christendom. Victor III., in allusion to this pontiff and his times, remarks that Italy had gradually diverged from the straight path of religion, and had arrived at such bad courses, and at such dereliction of the holy law, that he dreaded to relate to what a degree of turpitude this wretched pontiff had arrived.

Election of Benedict. An. 1033.

Theofilatus being consecrated pope, assumed the name of Bendict IX., and was acknowledged by the church, and by the Emperor Conrad II., who protected the Tusculan family. In spite of his infancy, he tranquilly occupied the throne of Saint Peter for some time.

It was about the year 1041 that Hildebrand, then about twenty-four years old, had distinguished himself at Clugni, and made himself known at the emperor's court as a man of severe exterior, and great ecclesiastical learning. St. Odilo, who loved him tenderly, then sent him to Rome, to reform the convent of Saint Paul "fuori le Mure," according to Paulus Bernriedensis; or, according to the Bollandists, to Mount Aventine, where he exerted himself diligently in the discharge of his mission. He compelled the monks to cleanse out the church from the flocks and herds which the shepherds left there, as in a place of safety from nocturnal thieves. He ex-

* This extreme youth is questionable.

pelled the women who were in the habit of waiting on the brethren, as servants in the convent, in a manner scandalous in the eyes of the multitude, and the lovers of good order. Bent upon these objects, he cultivated the friendship of the Tusculan counts and of the pope; and in conjunction with the high priest of St. John "ante portam Latinam," who was afterwards pope, he assisted at the lectures of Lorenzo, Bishop of Amalfi, who was a prodigy of learning in that age. If any credit can be given to the relation of Bishop Benzone, who wrote a life of Gregory VII., it was in the school of Lorenzo that Pope Benedict, the high priest, and Hildebrand perfected themselves in every kind of pernicious science; whilst the Amalfitan taught idolatry, augury, divinations, and magic. He relates that Hildebrand particularly distinguished himself in these impieties; that, regardless of his elevated station, he wandered in the woods, with mistresses for his companions, consulting the music and the flight of birds to prognosticate the future. Being one day in a congress of cardinals, holding a consultation on some important matters, he heard a swallow piping on a neighbouring balcony; and asking the pope if he understood the meaning of its song, his holiness replied that he understood it perfectly, and that it was inviting its companions to go to one of the gates of the city, where a cart, laden with grain, having been upset, had scattered its contents upon the ground. Such fabulous stories, in the mouth of an enemy especially, are unworthy of attention, and are

noticed only to show the kind of accusations which were levied against Hildebrand from his earliest youth. The Bollandists themselves, however, admit that Hildebrand frequented this school, without describing the kind of education in which its pupils were instructed: and it is probable that the reputation of magic attributed to Silvester II. was reflected upon his scholar Lorenzo, Bishop of Amalfi; and through him, who filled the place of his master, on his three celebrated above-mentioned disciples. It would not be unreasonable, however, to suppose that those pursuits which the vulgar denominated as incantations were physical experiments, which constituted the favourite occupation of Lorenzo. Superstition never entirely obliterated a science which, in those times of general ignorance, was capable of giving a great ascendancy to its professors; and history furnishes perpetual proofs of physical experiments being ascribed to miracles and the influence of evil spirits, and operating powerfully on the minds of men. At any rate, it is true that in a short time Hildebrand traversed every place, with the reputation of being a great zealot in the cause of God, and shook from his holy sleeves brilliant sparks of religious fire.*

* This alludes to the rites and ceremonies of the Hirpes, rites which were not forgotten by the priests in the early ages of the church. "Les Hirpes étoient un petit nombre de familles au pais de Falisque proche de Rome, qui marchoient impunément sur le feu. On voyoit ce spectacle tous les ans au mont Soracté, le jour qu'on faisoit un sacrifice solemnel a Apollon."—*Bayle*, v. *Hirpins*.

Thus, at least, the above-named Paulus, the Cardinal of Aragon, the Bollandists, and others his panegyrists, assert.

New disturbances in Rome against the pope. 1044.

At length the unbridled licentiousness and exceeding cruelty of Benedict excited the Roman people, who entered into a conspiracy, and drove him from his throne. Contrary to all ecclesiastical discipline, another pontiff, John, Bishop of Sabina, was immediately elected in his stead, by the name of Silvester III. An election so corruptive of ecclesiastical order could not obtain many supporters, whence it speedily was annulled; and Benedict re-entered Rome in triumph, accompanied by the soldiers of his family.*

Gratian pope, with the name of Gregory VI. 1044.

Gratian, the Arch-priest of St. John ante portam Latinam, who enjoyed the favour of the young pope, and had amassed immense wealth, being a man of talent and ambition, induced him, by flattering promises, to transfer to his hands a burthen which he could not carry; and, being leagued with Hildebrand and the principal monks,

* Romualdus of Salerno says, "Benedictus vendidit papatam Archipresbitero S. Joannis ante portam Latinam."—*Rer. Ital.*, tom. vii. And Godfred of Viterbo, *Rer. Ital.*, tom. vii. p. 446.—"Circa id tempus in ecclesia Romana est confusio gravis exhorta tribus invasoribus, sedem illam occupantibus; quorum unus Benedictus vocabatur; atque ad majoris miseriæ cumulum, divisis inter se patriarchiis earumque redditibus, unus apud S. Petrum, alter apud S. Mariam Majorem, tertius, id est, Benedictus, in palatio Lateranensi sidebat; omnes vitam turpem et flagitiosam habebant, ut accepimus." Gratian corrupted them all three, yielding to Benedict the contribution from England of Peter's pence; and was elected pope in their room.

caused himself to be proclaimed pontiff by the Roman people. Benedict was easily induced, by a large sum of money which Gratian gave him, to consent to this arrangement, which put him in a condition to take precautions against Henry II., Emperor of Germany, who was descending into Italy full of indignation against him for having dared, after the death of Conrad, to send the imperial crown to Peter, King of Hungary.* It was then that Hildebrand thought of returning to France, to his friend St. Odilo; and would have executed his intention, if, according to Paulus Bernriedensis and others, a vision which occurred at Acqua Pendente had not diverted him from his purpose, and compelled him to return to Rome; or if Gratian had not hastened to him, and entreated him to serve him in the office of secretary. We gather from his own letters that Hildebrand involuntarily affected to accept this situation, and subsequently became so attached to the intrusive and simoniacal pope, that he could never afterwards leave him. This pope took the name of Gregory VI., and possessed the esteem of a great portion of the Romans. Immediately upon his accession he conceived the project of forming a small army, under pretext of exterminating the robbers on the highways; but, in reality, to maintain the mitre which he had usurped. It was not long before this apparent zeal excited the complaints of a great portion of the people;

Resolution of Hildebrand to return to France.

* Il. Card. Baronius ad hunc an. 1044. Pagi ad Annal. B. Muratori, Annal. d' Italia.

complaints which charged him with homicide and bloodshed, and which no power nor artifice could suppress. These complaints at length reached the ears of Henry III., in Germany, and induced him to succour the idle and restless community which still pretended to the Empire of the World. In other respects, the labours of Gregory for the benefit of society, and the advice which he received from Hildebrand, from Bishop Laurentius, and Saint Peter Damianus, (who was distinguished as one of the ablest monks of his time, and had no inconsiderable influence in the popular tumults at Rome,) were not useless. He purged the Campagna and highways of freebooters and assassins; opened the road to the pilgrims who brought offerings to the altar of St. Peter, on their way to the Holy City; and enforced the laws with the sword of justice, which did not lie idle in its scabbard. Thus he increased the rents of the church, made his name formidable, and, if his government had lasted, would have annihilated the power of the cardinals. Hildebrand, at the age of twenty-six, 1044.
was elevated to the rank of Sub-deacon of the Romish church, and perhaps to that of Bishop of Orvieto, as Monaldeschi seems to imagine; and obtained that degree of favour which a pope as formidable as the present one could confer.
This state of things was of short duration; — Descent of Henry into Italy.
Henry, thinking himself secure in Germany, marched into Italy, to put a curb on the disturbance of that degraded country; and arriving at Piacenza, found Gregory, who had gone there

with his court to meet and make friends with him. The emperor received Gregory cordially, and sent him with fresh hopes to his capital; he himself remaining behind a few days. On his arrival at Sutri, the king suddenly convoked a council, and cited Gregory to appear. So imperious a proceeding on the part of the German monarch irritated the whole court of Gregory, and particularly the spirit of Hildebrand, who already coveted the papacy: but it was necessary to obey, and assist at a council which was considered by all good men as essential, to cut with a single blow the simoniacal knot which had been tied, and which threatened the destruction of the church itself. Perhaps the insinuations of Gregory, and the eloquence of Hildebrand, combined, might have prevailed on the mind of the king; and, by destroying the then two popes, Silvester and Benedict, might have confirmed him on his throne. But a hermit —and it is wonderful, as Muratori observes in his Annals, that he was not called an angel—had sent this record to the king:—"Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis. Rex Henrice, omnipotens vice, solvo connubium, triforme dubium." The king, thunderstruck, and discovering that Benedict, Silvester, and Gregory had obtained the papacy by intrigue and simony, deposed them all three; and their pontificate was declared null and void by the council.* An act of such singular integrity pleased all good believers; and Henry deserved and received the applause of his

Council of Sutri.

1046.

Deposition of Gregory.

* Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. Leone Ostiense. Vittore III. Dialogo, lib. iii.

contemporaries. Others, however, were not wanting who blamed his conduct, and undertook to prove that Gregory VI. was the legitimate pope. Amongst them was Hildebrand, who was warmly attached to his protector; although he knew that he had obtained the papacy at the cost of fifteen hundred pounds of gold.*

Exile from Rome of Gregory and Hildebrand.

The emperor having passed this sentence, Silvester retired to his first bishopric, Benedict to his estate, and Gregory, as the most dangerous, was exiled beyond the mountains. It seems that Hildebrand was equally constrained to accompany him. In a letter to the Romans, he says: "You know that, contrary to my own inclinations, I was brought up to holy orders, and that, in spite of myself, I accompanied Pope Gregory, my patron, beyond the mountains."

On the departure of these two persons from Rome, Suidgerus, Bishop of Bamberga, was elected pope, by the name of Clement II., with no disposition to fill his holy office. Hildebrand and his master stopped for some time in Lombardy; but Henry, fearing their influence in

* Bonifazio, Vita di Gregorio VII. La Cronica di Farfa says: "Qui post mensem I. vendidit illud Johanni Archidiacono S. Joannis anti portam Latinam, nomine Graziano, cui nomen imposuit Gregor. P. Eum imp. deposuit et ultramontes in compulit, et Clementem II. papam constituit." *Petrus Dam.*, Op. xix. cap. ii.: "Super quibus præsente Imp. Henrico, quum disceptavit postmodum synodale concilium, quia venalitas interfuerat depositus est." He styles Henry emperor, although he was only king; but this holy father was not very scrupulous of historical veracity.

Italy, drove them into France, to the convent of Clugni, where the Abbot St. Odilo awaited them. Hildebrand subsequently attained the priorship of the convent*, and consoled himself as well as he could under his misfortunes, although Rome and his political interests could ill be compensated by such a position.

St. Peter Damianus the enemy of Pope Gregory.

Thus that club of holy men to which he belonged, viz., of Laurence, Gregory, Benedict, and Peter Damianus, was dissolved: the last of these he had the mortification to find violently opposed to him; because, having been a great encomiast of Gratian, he became his bitter abuser when he knew the simony by which he had procured his elevation. This, perhaps, was the fault of St. Peter Damianus, who was never forgiven by the implacable heart of the prior, whose enmity embittered his dying days. Yet both these personages are now canonised by the church of Rome, regardless of their difference of opinion upon subjects of the deepest interest.

Death of Gregory VI.

Gregory, meanwhile, overwhelmed with affliction, died shortly afterwards, at the monastery of Clugni, leaving Hildebrand the heir to his resentment and his wealth. Some fabulous historians, amongst whom may be reckoned Ricordamus Malaspina, Leo Marscianus, Cardinal Ostiensis, almost all contemporaries, relate that Gratian, full

* Ex Annalecio Augerio Rer. Ital., tom. iii. parte ii. p. 358.: "Item quod ipse Gregorius ante suam promotionem Ildebrandus vocabatur, et tunc erat Prior claustralis monasterii Clunicensis."

of indignation, and following the natural impulse of his disposition, assembled a small army, overthrew Henry, marched to Rome, and, expelling Damasus from the papacy, died there a natural death, in his pontifical robes. This account, with many others equally wonderful which accompany it, is one of those fabrications which the ecclesiastical writers have attempted to impose upon the credulity of their readers. No mention is made of Silvester in history, and his end was probably unknown. Benedetto subsequently retired into his strong holds in Tusculum and the adjoining places, applying himself always to dissoluteness, cruelty, and magical arts, with greater energy, in order to avail himself of any favourable opportunity for their exercise.

Consecration of Clement II. 1046.

Scarcely had Clement II. been elected than he was consecrated pope, on Christmas-day, 1046, with the unanimous consent of the clergy and the Roman people; and, on the same day, Henry was crowned the third King of Germany, and second of the emperors, with his wife Agnes. In the following year a council was summoned by Clement, to repress the simony which was so prevalent in the church of Christ: and, with the aid of Henry, a decree was issued, prohibiting the clergy and the Roman people to elect or consecrate any pope without the imperial sanction. St. Peter Damianus, who had extolled Henry to the skies for his zeal in the extirpation of simony, still praised him in similar circumstances; and said that, by divine dispensation, it had happened

1047.

to him alone to bring about so just and holy a work.*

Pilgrimage of the pope to Mount Garganus.

After the council, these august personages accompanied the pope to visit St. Michael the archangel on Mount Garganus; and on his return Clement excommunicated the Benedictines, for the insults which they had offered to the mother-in-law of Henry when on a similar pilgrimage.

Journey of the emperor through Germany.

On his road home the emperor, according to Donizzone, wished to chastise Boniface, Duke and Marquess of Tuscany, who was regarded with suspicion on account of the number and goodness of his troops, his riches, and power. He attempted to arrest him whilst being presented at an audience; but the wary Boniface went there with a large band of friends and servants, all well provided with arms under their vestments. The blow failing, excited for some time a sensation which was very injurious to the imperial family. Pope Clement continued in the train of the emperor till he had crossed the Alps; and then, retiring to Italy, he died by poison at Ravenna.† He could not remain quietly in his own see on account of the malicious Benedict, who

Death of Clement VI.

* * "Et quoniam ipse anteriorem tenere regulam noluit ut æterni regis præcepta servaret, hoc sibi non ingrata divina dispensatio contulit, quod plerisque decessoribus suis externis non concessit; ut, videlicet, ad ejus natum sancta Romana ecclesia nunc ordinatur, ac præter ejus auctoritatem apostolicæ sedi nemo prorsus elegat sacerdotem."—*St. Petr. Dam. Ep.*

† Romualdus Salernitanus, Chron. Rer. Ital., tom. vii., anno 1047, says, "In mense Junii, Benedictus Papa per poculum veneni occidit Papam Clementem."

made continual war on him with fraud and force; nor even ceased to persecute him at a distance, since it is believed that he secretly contrived his death. At a period when the heads of the Christian religion were so perverse, it cannot excite surprise that the manners of the Italians should be excessively corrupt. The crime of poisoning was exceedingly common; and rapine and extortion being fashionable, those who practised them most became great and powerful. This mighty Boniface, who styled himself Marquess of Ferrara and Duke of Tuscany, was one of the greatest brigands of the time; and was accustomed, according to Donizzone, to go every year to the convent of Pomposa to receive absolution for his sins. He repaired there in 1046; and, as he had made a miserable traffic of the churches and ecclesiastical benefices, he received from Guido, its abbot, a severe reprimand, and promised never to do the like in future. In these days, a trivial gift to a church, or a public act of humiliation, made atonement for any worldly crime.* As soon as Benedict received intelligence of the death of Clement, after a pontificate

Character of Boniface.

* "Fratres ac Abbas ejus delicta lambant
Ecclesiæ, quorum solita dabat optima dona.
* * * * * * * *
Qua de re Guido sacer abbas arguit immo
Hunc Bonifacium ne venderet amplius ipsum.
Ante Dei matris altare flagellat amoris
Verberibus nudum qui delicias erat usus.
Pomposæ vovit tunc abbatique Guidoni
Ecclesiam nullam quod per se venderet unquam."
Donizzo in Vit. Math., lib. i. cap. 14.

of nine months and fifteen days, he hastened to Rome; and, according to Platina, in his life of that pontiff, the Chronicle of Farfa, and other authors, he caused himself to be acknowledged as pontiff for nine months. In July, 1048, Poppone, Bishop of Brixen, or Bressanone, was elected pope by the emperor, under the name of Damasus II., and sent to Rome; when, on his arrival, clearly foreseeing that the discords and civil tumults which were raging would render the government of the church impracticable, he retired to Preneste, where he soon after died. We now again see the manufacturer of poison on the throne of St. Peter, ably and profusely employing that real magic which he had learned in the school of Laurentius, and which excited so much discussion. Bishop Bennone was not long in noticing this conduct in his satire against Gregory VII.; and if it be true that Damasus II. died at Preneste, of poison administered to him by Benedetto, we must needs confess that this satire is not so false as one might wish.*

Benedict resumes the papal chair.

Election of Damasus II. 1048.

Death of Damasus II.

At Clugni, meanwhile, Hildebrand, who was waiting silently for some favourable occasion of re-appearing on the stage, enriched by the inheritance of Gregory, and meditating vengeance for the insult he had received from the German

* "Ut insignem magum malorum omnium Benedittum IX. complicem, doctorem et principem maleficiorum, qui et aruspicinam publice exerceret magiamque et alia, id genus vita vetita Romæ palam cunctis discere volentibus profitebatur. A quo et Hildebrandus eius discipulus easdem magicas artes, legibus divinis et humanis improbatas didicerit."—*V. Bennone.*

emperors, no sooner heard of the death of Damasus than he suddenly departed for Germany, to influence the imperial family in the choice which must soon be made of a Roman pontiff. It seems probable that it was his intention to recommend Alinardus, Archbishop of Lyons; and for this purpose he united with the Romans, who had sent a legate into Germany with the same object. Half-way on his journey, however, he heard of the election of Bruno, as Leo IX.; which occurred at Worms, in a diet of the princes and bishops, in the very presence of the Roman legates.* This Bruno was Bishop of Toul, a relative of the emperor, and a man of good faith and sound religion; and before he accepted the dignity, he protested that if the clergy and Roman people should not consent to his exaltation, he would renounce it. He celebrated the Nativity in his own cathedral, and then set out on his journey. Hildebrand, according to Otho Frisinga, met Bruno on his road; and according to others, went to find him at Worms, and begged him to visit the monastery of Clugni before he went to Rome. St. Bruno, Bishop of Segni, nevertheless, in his life of this pope, relates the following adventure, which I give in his own words: — "There was at this time a Roman monk, called Hildebrand, of noble disposition, clear judgment, and sound principles. He was placed there to learn as well as to fight under the banner of St. Benedict. The bishop called this

Election of Leo IX.

1049.

Interview of Hildebrand with Leo.

* Muratori, An d' Ital.

monk to him, and, as soon as he had ascertained his intentions and wishes, prayed him to accompany him to Rome; which he flatly refused to do.—'Why?' asked the bishop.—'Because the church is invaded by the secular and royal power, contrary to the canonical institutions.'" With deference to the saint, either he was ignorant of the subject he discussed, or he had the same aim as all other pious historians have of blazoning the virtues of his hero.* The fact is, that after his interview with Hildebrand, divesting himself of the externals of the dignity which he had accepted at Worms, and refusing the title of pope until he should be elected by the clergy and Roman people, he assumed the habit of a monk, and went to Rome; having obtained the permission of the emperor that Hildebrand should attend him thither.†

Pilgrimage of Leo to Rome.

Profound must have been the meditations of the philosophical mind on the arrival at Rome of this strange pilgrimage. Monks destined to solitude and the cloister, men exiled for their ambition, and priests of Jesus Christ, preceded in one mass the shepherd who was about to impose his yoke upon that people which once had desolated the earth and given laws to the world. He walked barefooted in humble mien, as though in the act of receiving veneration and respect; and at the

* Gotifred. Viterb. Pantheon, Rer. Ital., tom. vii. p. 446., says, "that Leo, passing through Clugni, and finding Hildebrand there, laid aside the purple at his suggestion, and was afterwards proclaimed pope by the Roman people."

† Vid. Bennone, Vita di Gregorio VII.; et Benzone, pubblic. da Reincia Reinecci. Steinheim.

same time demanding the applause which should proclaim him to be one of the rulers of the people. The clergy, with a great multitude, went out of the gates to meet him, having been already prepared by the contrivances of Hildebrand, who had a train of flatterers; and who, supported by the authority of St. Odilo, was daily gaining favour. Scarcely had these two strange and mighty masses come into contact, than the air resounded with acclamations for the new pope; which being re-echoed from every part of the city, convinced him of the veracity of Hildebrand and his monks, who had predicted the gratifying scenes which were now being acted. Leo IX., thus universally welcomed, immediately caused himself to be consecrated pope; and, without loss of time, gave orders that preparations should be made for his journey to visit the Archangel Michael at Mount Garganus. Having graciously returned thanks to the angels generally, to whom he was devoted, he returned to his pontifical seat, full of ardour against Benedict, and all the simoniacal priests his flatterers: in fact, he excommunicated most of them. He nominated many cardinals, amongst them his beloved Hildebrand, whom he made the sub-deacon of the church of St. Paul; and soon afterwards set out for Germany, to appease the mind of the emperor, to whom these proceedings could be by no means palatable. Hildebrand now beheld himself at the summit of his long-wished-for greatness—not having hitherto dared to carry his hopes further; and united in his own person the titles of Cardinal, Sub-deacon, Abbot of St.

Leo IX. proclaimed pope.

1049.

Journey of Leo to Germany.

Paul, Canon of the Holy Roman Church, and Keeper of the Altar of St. Peter. This last office placed at his disposal all the offerings which were made to the holy apostle; who, besides holding the supremacy of the church militant in the earth, held it likewise in heaven. Every abbot, count, duke, prince, and king was obliged to make annual offerings to his altar for the maintenance of the church of Rome; and on it also were deposited the payments of the people for the service of the state, and of the pontiffs.

Leo IX. meanwhile, traversing Germany, was utterly ignorant of the affairs of the Romish church, and rendered himself a blind instrument of the interminable artifices of the monks to further their ambition. Having reconciled himself to the emperor, he assembled several provincial synods; fulminated anathemas and excommunications against the simonists; and began to make war on the married priests, calling them whoremongers, and, as such, accursed by the Lord. He confounded the sacrament of marriage with the crime of simony; and the same curses and excommunications were fulminated against bishops who sold the churches and ecclesiastical benefices, and those who celebrated that holy sacrament. Of simple habits, and of unspotted life, he followed the impulse of Hildebrand without violence to his feelings, and soon appeared to the whole world a zealous reformer. A council which he held at Reims, and the processions which preceded and followed it, are much celebrated by the ecclesiastical

Council of Reims.

historians, who say that he took on his shoulders the coffin of St. Remigius, and bore it in procession to a new tomb; pretending that that saint presided at the council assembled under his auspices. In these circumstances, he condemned the simonists; the laymen who retained the monasteries in fee; the altars of the saints on which the people made their offerings; and the corrupt practices which had invaded the cloisters and convents, where, from the certainty of impunity, homicides, fornications, and adulteries were abundantly committed. Divorce also was prohibited; the monks were forbidden to abandon the cloisters to which they had devoted themselves, and the priests to lead a military life. Rapine, sodomy, and certain heresies, which were insinuating themselves into France, were equally condemned. The austere disposition of Leo soon became known; and Hildebrand failed not to urge him to persevere in his plans of reform. The life of this cardinal monk was one of perpetual motion: he flew from Rome to France, and France to Germany, and Germany to Rome. He assisted the pope in his councils, his pilgrimages, his processions; and curbed the turbulent and restless spirit of the Roman princes by the rapidity and boldness of his measures. In this same council of Reims it was decided, that the church of Rome should be acknowledged as the first and principal of all churches; and that the Roman pontiff, as primate, should govern all others. Victor III. relates that Leo performed a singular miracle at this council. The Abbot

of St. Remigius had sent him, as a present, a most beautiful vase of consecrated woods. The servant who carried it let it fall, and it was broken. The pope put the fragments together, and repaired it instantly! Victor relates it on the authority of the Cardinal of St. Paul, who was then present, and whose eagle eye penetrated into every quarter. He was then very anxious that Leo should govern with reputation, in order to consolidate the command which was intrusted to him; and that by securing a great number of adherents, with the means which he possessed, he might always retain the direction of affairs.

The council of Reims being concluded, the pope suddenly held another in Mayence, in the presence of the emperor; and, in 1050, he returned into Italy, to reap the popular applauses which his operations had procured for him. At Rome he did nothing but convoke councils. He went into Apulia, Monte Cassino, Mount Garganus, and Beneventum, where he again excommunicated the contumacious inhabitants. At the beginning of May he celebrated a new council in the church of St. Lateran at Rome, when the opinions of Berenger, as to the sacrament of the altar, were condemned. (B.) This man was born at Tours; and having prosecuted the study of theology from his earliest youth, as a disciple of Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, the opinion as to the sacrament of the eucharist of Leutheric, Bishop of Sens, was eagerly embraced by him; and he would not admit the doctrine

Council of Lateran.

Origin of Berenger.

of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine in the body and blood of Christ.* The opinions of men were variously divided on this subject; and there was neither the decision of a council nor of a pope to decide their faith.† Berenger particularly distinguished himself, and became the friend of all the most enlightened men of the day, not excepting Hildebrand, who never failed to protect and defend him. At the holding of this council, he was treasurer and director of the school of St. Martin of Tours; and afterwards became Archdeacon of the church of Angers. He is said to have supported his opinions from a book written by Johannes Scotus, to the subtlety and argument of which his infection was attributed. He had many followers amongst the bishops, amongst whom were Bru-

* "The famous dispute concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist was revived about the middle of this century (eleventh). Hitherto the disputants on both sides had proposed their jarring opinions with the utmost freedom, unrestrained by the despotic voice of authority; since no council had given a definitive sentence of this matter, or prescribed a rule of faith to terminate all enquiry and debate."—*Mosheim*, vol. ii. cent. xi. p. 559. See note B, at the end of this book.

† "This eminent ecclesiastic maintained publicly, in the year 1045, the doctrine of Johannes Scotus; opposed warmly the monstrous opinions of Paschasius Radbert, which were adapted to captivate a superstitious multitude by exciting their astonishment; and persevered with a noble obstinacy in teaching that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of Christ, but preserved their natural essential qualities, and were no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour."—*Mosheim*, vol. ii. cent. xi. p. 560.

none, Bishop of Angers; and Hildebrand himself was accused by his adversaries of being one of his followers. The celebrated Lanfranc, then prior of the monastery of Becco, in Lombardy, and of Italian origin, distinguished himself greatly in this council by his contradiction of Berenger: and also in one which was afterwards holden at Vercelli, in the month of September, in which he succeeded in gaining over to his side almost all the bishops, and in procuring the condemnation of the contrary opinions.*

Already, however, the haughty mind of Leo, and his German vanity, made Hildebrand anticipate some change in the favour which he now enjoyed: he entered, therefore, into secret correspondence with Benedict, who was always ready to injure any pontiff. By means of contrivances and insinuations, they induced the pope to turn his active mind to the south of Italy, harassed by the invasions and warfare of the Normans. They described this race of hardy men as exceedingly injurious to the interests of the Roman church, and prevailed on him to declare war against them.† He absolved the Beneventines, and directed all his efforts to the formation of an army capable of overcoming such powerful enemies. In 1051, he repaired to the emperor in Germany, and absolved Unfred, Archbishop of

* Muratori, Ann. d'Ital. 1050. Bennon. Card. Arch., Vita Hildebrandi, in fasciculo Rer. expetend.: Coloniæ, 1533.

† De Potter, Esprit de l'Eglise, par. i. lib. i. Bennone, Radulph. Clabr. apud Duchen. tom. iv. Chron. Hildesheim. ad an. 1037. Hermannus contrat. apud Pist. tom. i. p. 295.

Ravenna, whom he had excommunicated because he would not acknowledge the supremacy of the church of Rome. On his return into Italy, he excommunicated Gregory, Bishop of Vercelli, who was accused of adultery with the widow of his uncle; and who obtained absolution by going to Rome and promising satisfaction. In the following year, 1052, he returned to the emperor in Germany; and, in order to gratify him, excommunicated Andrew, King of Hungary. The whole of the year 1052 he passed in trying to regain the rich abbey of Fulda, and its rights, which had formerly belonged to the church of Rome, and which Henry exchanged with him for some possessions in the south of Italy, including Beneventum, which enabled the pope more effectually to carry on the war against the Normans. The year 1053, in which the emperor had promised a German army to Leo, was now arrived; and, adhering to his promise, the pontiff set out at the head of a considerable body of troops for Italy, totally forgetful of the canon of the council of Reims against priests becoming soldiers, and, like another St. George, assisting to slaughter the flock which he could not keep together. Scarcely, however, had he come within sight of the Alps, than Gebeardus, Bishop of Aichstet, prevailed upon the Emperor Henry to recall a part of his German troops; which the good pope, thus straightened, was obliged to supply with clergy and laymen, who preferred rapine and bloodshed to honour and religion. The movements of Cardinal Hildebrand at this crisis

are unknown; but it would seem that he was satisfied with fanaticising the pope in this war, and remaining a pacific spectator of the event: it is, moreover, known that Benedict had ratified a secret treaty with the Normans.*

Leo IX. Rome.

Leo, in the mean time, having moved his little host against the enemy, came to a battle with them near Civitella, in the Capitanali. His band of assassins, rather than soldiers, was beaten and dispersed in the first encounter; and the few Germans who accompanied him having been killed, he was taken prisoner by Richard and other Normans, who, pitying the folly of a poor old man who ventured to compromise himself

Leo IX. taken prisoner.

* Gulielmus Appulus, lib. ii. Poem., and Hermannus Contrattus, describe similar scenes fully. De Potter, in his work, "L'Esprit de l'Eglise," livre i. pt. i. p. 36., thus writes:—"L'an 1049, le Pape Léon IX., parent de l'Empereur Henri III., excommunia Godefroi, Duc de Lorraine, et Baudouin, Comte de Flandres, rebelles à l'autorité impériale. Il excommunia l'année suivante les Bénéventains (déjà frappés des censures ecclésiastiques par Clement II.); et deux ans après cela, André, Roi de Hongrie, pour la même raison. Le pape avoit besoin, en cette circonstance, du secours de l'empereur contre les Normands de la Pouille, auxquels à l'instigation du célèbre Hildebrand, qui vouloit perdre Léon en le précipitant dans les dangers, il avoit résolu de faire la guerre: le motif, et la crainte de la sévérité du pontife suprême, le rendirent suspect aux prélats indépendans de la Lombardie. C'est pourquoi, lorsque Léon IX., à son retour d'Allemagne, voulut tenir un concile à Mantoue, ils cherchèrent tous les moyens de l'en empêcher. On se battit avec acharnement; et Léon, qui vouloit calmer les mutins par sa présence, manqua d'y perdre la vie. La concile fut dissout par cette scène scandaleuse; et le pape, après avoir donné l'absolution aux auteurs du tumulte, se retira vers Rome."

without any principle of discipline or valour, treated him with courtesy and respect. He was conducted from the fortress of Civitella to Beneventum, as an illustrious prisoner. This great calamity was attributed by the enemies of Hildebrand and Benedict to the defection of the Italian troops, who had been corrupted by these two personages: nor can the truth of this be ascertained. But such an ebullition of war, excited by the spirit of reform and an ungovernable zeal for religion, kindled discontent amongst the enlightened and sensible men of the age, and assisted the secret schemes of the two conspirators. St. Peter Damianus, who possessed great reputation as a saint, availed himself of this conjuncture to play upon the volatility of Leo, who had favoured and protected him when he was first elected pope; and, subsequently, through the influence of Hildebrand, had neglected him, and even censured the work which Damianus had composed against the vices of the clergy, entitled "Gomorrenus." The warlike spirit of the pontiff was severely reprehended by this monk, who denied the Roman pontiffs the right of unsheathing the sword, and marching to battle at the head of their troops. Cardinal Baronius, in his Annals, confutes and condemns the opinions of this holy theologian, and says that they are opposed to the example of St. Bernard, and the decisions of Gregory IX. and Boniface VIII., who were not born at that time; and he appears to have misinterpreted the letters of St. Gregory the Great, who says that the pontiffs ought to

Peter Damianus reprehends the conduct of Leo.

endure to a certain point, and then arm and defend themselves boldly. These two opinions, contradictory as they are, have both been sanctified by the church from the holiness of their respective authors; and can, therefore, both be respectively adopted, as circumstances may require, without the fear of error or inconsistency.

This great misfortune profoundly afflicted the mind of the pontiff, and gave him time to reflect on ingratitude in its blackest colours. Ermannus Contrattus relates, that he could not return to Rome from Beneventum without stating who prevented him. It does not appear to have been the Normans, who were reconciled with him, and were in great favour.* Hildebrand and Benedict, consequently, are the only two persons on whom the suspicion of so great an injury can fall: the first, from motives of religious zeal, and disapprobation of the warlike career of the pontiff; the second, with a view to recover his long-desired throne. But Unfred, a Norman count, protecting him openly, enforced his return, and accompanied him with his squadrons as far as he desired. Leo had already despatched as his legates to Constantinople Cardinal Umbert, Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi, and Frederic, cardinal deacon, chancellor of the holy Roman church, and brother of Godfrey, Duke of Lorena, on account of the divisions between the Greek and Latin churches which had already broken

Return of Leo to Rome.

* This was the first time that the Normans were invested with Sicily and other possessions of the Greeks or Saracens. V. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, an. 1054.

out, and were about to terminate in a lamentable schism. At length, having arrived at Rome, overwhelmed with sorrow and affliction, he died, on the 19th of April, 1054.

Death of Leo. 1054.

The memory of Leo was honoured by the fame of many miracles; amongst which it is related that, under the appearance of a pilgrim and a leper, Jesus Christ had reposed in his own bed. These absurdities were expressly fabricated by flatterers, who wished to immortalise him; and the wonder-loving multitude had no difficulty in believing them. Even in our times, how many of the most imbecile and extravagant are heard of, and accredited by an infinite number of people.* But the fame of all these miracles was

* In the year 1825, the following miracle was exhibited to public veneration in the church of St. Peter, on occasion of the sanctification of a certain Spaniard:—A picture was exhibited, where he was represented in a kitchen, at the fire of which stood the landlord, turning a spit full of little birds, all of which flew away half roasted at the direction of the saint.

Since writing the above note, I have been favoured by a very intelligent friend, who was an eye-witness of it, with an anecdote illustrative, perhaps, still more strongly than the foregoing of the justice of the observation in the text. The narrator, a man of veracity, is himself a Roman Catholic. For some time after the assumption of the crown of Portugal by Don Miguel, his party had recourse to stratagem to impress the minds of the lower classes, who are still full of ignorance and fanaticism, and believe in miracles, with the legality and divine right of his sovereignty.

For two Sundays in succession, a friar of the Convento da Graça ascended the pulpit, fronting the altar, on which had been placed a figure of the Saviour as large as life, carrying the cross. Under its gown was concealed a boy, who held a string attached to the head of this figure. After some pre-

insufficient to prevent the centre of his government becoming a prey to the unbridled and sanguinary soldiers, and even being burnt in some quarters. These disorders being suppressed, and the late pope sanctified, Benedict again came forth, and re-ascended his former throne. Persecutions and revenge recommenced their ordinary course; and Hildebrand, being unable individually to repress them, repaired to the emperor in Germany, to concert with him the nomination of a new pontiff.

Benedict re-ascends the throne.

Hildebrand goes to Germany.

The Roman church was now harassed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who pretended to the title of Universal Patriarch. He accused the Latin church of schism and heresy; because in the sacrament it made use of the wafer, and di-

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liminary discourse, the friar informed his congregation that he was going to apply to the image to know whether Miguel was, or was not, the legitimate sovereign of Portugal; being quite satisfied that it would perform a miracle to work conviction in the incredulous. He then turned to the figure, and said, "Is Don Pedro our sovereign?" to which he obtained no reply.—"Is Donna Maria?" No answer.—"Is Don Miguel?" Upon which last interrogatory the figure nodded its head three times in token of assent.

On the third Sunday of this pantomime, the friar, on repeating his two first questions, as previously, received, as before, no answer; but, on coming to his third, the same silence, unaccompanied by the expected motion of the head, continued. Indignation soon took the place of surprise and disappointment; and putting his question for the third time, in a loud and angry tone, the innocent agent of this religious farce emerged from beneath the Saviour's gown, and informed the audience, with genuine, but fatal simplicity, that his miracle-working string was broken.

rected its members to fast on the sabbath. He urged also against it other frivolous accusations, which would now appear too absurd to occupy the attention of any intellectual mind. Leo, who, in order to propitiate the Emperor of Constantinople in the war against the Normans, had despatched his legates to him, thought he had acted with consummate policy; but the emperor, who was Constantine Monomacus, having received them with the accustomed honours, caused them to excommunicate Michael Cerularius the patriarch, to whom he imputed the most enormous crimes; viz. that he was a simonist, and sold the gifts of God; that he maimed travellers like eunuchs, compelling them to enter the ecclesiastical life; that he re-baptized, like the Arians, those who were already baptized; that he said that baptism and the sacrifice had perished in all the world, except in the Greek church; that he admitted matrimony to the priests, as the Nicolaites; that he cursed the law of Moses and the Pentateuch, as the Severians; that he had taken away in the Creed the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; that fermentation was the source of life, as the Manicheans; that he practised ablution, like the Nazarites; that he denied baptism to infants in eight days after their birth; that connexion with pregnant women was lawful, and that they might be baptized; and that, preserving the hair and beard, he would not receive persons who were shaved at the Communion. Sustained by the popular party, the patriarch replied,

that the legates were not from Leo, but from Argerus, who commanded the Greek army and his own; that the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople were equal to that of Rome; that the legates were proud and haughty, having attempted to sit beside him without doing him homage; that the Latins were guilty of eating animals that had died a natural death, and forbidden flesh, and the monks of eating meat: and the bishops of wearing the ring, as though they were married; of going to war; of not permitting matrimony to the priests; of allowing two sisters to marry two brothers; of permitting executions to take place in their presence; of condemning capitally; of putting salt into the mouths of the baptized; of not venerating the relics and images of the saints; of not believing the doctrines of Saint Basil and Chrysostom; of using only one immersion whilst officiating at the ceremony of baptism; and such like matters. I have purposely diverged a little from my subject, to dilate on the reciprocal reproaches of these two rival churches,—which pretended to the dominion of the world by means of the empire of heaven, which each assumed,—in order to make the reader more familiar with the characters and habits of the men who exercised so great an influence over future ages. All this recrimination, however, was unattended with any result; leaving only the priests of the two churches bitterly opposed to each other.

On Hildebrand's arrival in Italy, he made it known that he had received from the Roman

people the power to choose a new pope. The intrigues which he employed to obtain such unlimited authority, from men who still preserved some remnant of their ancient republican forms, in preference to so many other representatives, are unknown. By his insinuations and eloquence, however, he acquired the full confidence of the emperor, and selected as pontiff Gebeard, Bishop of Aichstet, whom we have before mentioned, — a rich and prudent prelate, who, perhaps, owed his exaltation to a secret understanding with Hildebrand to humble the pride of a warlike pope, daily becoming more formidable on account of his activity and zeal. Gebeard, anticipating the difficulties to which a career so dangerous would expose him, hesitated some time before he accepted his new charge: but no obstacle was sufficient to overcome the importunity and energy of Hildebrand; and he was obliged to yield, and allow himself to be conducted to Rome to be consecrated as pontiff. Benedict IX. was full of indignation against Hildebrand, who had thus forsaken him in his hour of need, and had carried with him the great majority of the monks. Setting out, however, at the head of the simonists, he conducted himself as an absolute tyrant in Rome and its dependencies; bestowing all the public offices on his own family, which he endeavoured to make sovereign. The faction of Hildebrand, which was that of the monks, then became more violent; and connecting itself with the imperial party, increased greatly in energy

New election of a pontiff.

and strength. Hildebrand was regardless of the apparent contradiction of his present movements with those which he had formerly made for the advancement of Leo; and, gathering round him all the simple and devout, he presented a force which the Tusculan counts could not adequately oppose. At his approach, Benedict was again obliged to retire to his castles, and seek to effect, by means of treachery and intrigue, what he could not accomplish by force. In this state of affairs, the simoniacal priests and public fornicators became confused with those who were lawfully joined in wedlock; and the blind multitude, excited by the continual report of the miracles of the monks, armed against them as the malignant beings whom the devil, according to the Manichean principles of the age, sent upon the earth. Hildebrand, subsequently, in order to justify his choice of a German pope, as one most essential to the national interests, went about saying, that he was the only bishop fit to govern the Roman church in those difficult times; and that there was no man of so much merit amongst the Roman or Italian clergy. A man, however, whose whole life had been passed in the imperial court, entirely ignorant of Italian laws and customs, could not greatly diminish the weight imposed upon the shoulders of the Cardinal of St. Paul by Leo IX., although he might have advanced his influence and ambition. On the arrival of Gebeardus at Rome, he was canonically elected by the Romans, and consecrated pope by the name of Victor II., on the 13th

Consecration of Victor II. 1055.

April, 1055, without any tumult or clang of war; because, according to St. Peter Damianus, Baronius, and others, Benedict died at the same time.* The first relates that Umbert, Cardinal of Silva-Candida, told him frequently that a miller, passing by his mill, saw a monster with ass's ears, which reached to his tail; the rest of his body being that of a bear, which ran about in every direction. The miller, alarmed, asked him who he was. The monster replied that he was Theofilattus, condemned to run about in that manner through filthy and horrible places till the day of judgment, when he would be put into a boiling pit in the infernal regions on account of his crimes. It is curious to observe how St. Peter Damianus and Cardinal Baronius credited such follies, and made their comments and interpretations upon these absurd details. I know that the mind of man is often found committing puerilities in the region of the passions and imagination, and that the same prodigies are often reproduced in societies of an equal degree of ignorance and barbarism. Wretched indeed is that mind, in its natural state, dependent upon every accident which surrounds it; but how much more wretched when it is blinded by the passions, and when that little light which study and labour have elicited is obscured. Although the persecution of vice, when it is in action, is just and decorous, the

Death of Benedict IX.

* Romualdus of Salerno says,—"Anno 1058, Benedictus Papa IX. defunctus est, successit ei Nicolaus, qui et Gerardus."— *Rer. Ital.* tom. vii.

pursuit of it, when its agent is deceased, is unbecoming a Christian of any church or party. Mortal man ought not to bear immortal hatred; nor is it permitted to any one to pass the boundary which death has planted to revenge.

Council of Florence.

The first object of Victor II. was to re-occupy some castles which had been alienated from the Roman church, and to call a council at Florence, at which the emperor assisted. The latter had come into Italy to suppress the power of Godfrey, Duke of Lorena, Marquis of Ferrara, and Count of Tuscany, who had married the Countess Beatrice, widow of Count Boniface. The power of this prince overshadowed that of the emperor; and the strifes which had formerly broken out were continued with greater warmth than ever. The Countess Matilda, afterwards so celebrated, daughter of Beatrice and Boniface, was at this time only eight years old, and had imbibed, in her very earliest years, all her mother's hatred of the imperial family; hatred so essentially conducive to the progressive views of Cardinal Hildebrand. At the approach of Henry, Godfrey retired to Lorena; and the two countesses being left to their own guidance, the mother was imprisoned by the emperor, and the daughter saved herself in the strong Rock of Canosa, which was then considered impregnable. By these proceedings the emperor awoke the implacable hatred of the two ladies, without gaining any object. He then held a council in Florence, soon after the Pentecost, in 1055, at which the heresy of Berenger and simony were

condemned; the alienation of ecclesiastical property confirmed; and the canons respecting penance rigorously enforced. The rich man, however, was allowed to commute the imposed penance into a fine; and this provision was so profitable to the monks and churches generally, that Baronius does not hesitate to say that, by its means, the ecclesiastical revenues were greatly enlarged. Hildebrand had studied the ancient discipline, and he knew how to avail himself profitably of such occasions, distinguishing himself always by his eloquence and foresight, the effect of which, from the great influence he had acquired, was irresistible. But the good German, Victor II., discovered in time that his companion in business was too tiresome and importunate; and, to get rid of him, he sent him to France, shortly after this council, under the honest pretext of extirpating simony in that kingdom.

As we have already spoken of the simonists, and of the priests excommunicated for concubinage, called Nicolaites, it will be desirable to ascertain what were the opinions of the historians of this time. Paulus Bernriedensis, Petrus Damianus, Victor III., St. Anselm, and others, condemn the conduct of the clergy at this period, and depict it in the blackest colours. Gerous Reicherspergensis, Landulfus the Elder, a Milanese historian, and others, adopt a contrary course. Giovanni Aventino, in his Annals*,

* Ann. Bojo, v. 5. p. 563.

says, that at this time the priests were united in lawful matrimony like laymen, that their wives were called Presbyteresses, and that they did not consider themselves bound by any law to a vow of chastity; that moreover, in the conferring of benefices, churches, or bishoprics, certain dues were paid to the secretaries to obtain the diplomas; and that those who paid them were called simonists. The married priests were called Nicolaites, from the name of one of the deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; who, having a beautiful, and perhaps not over-faithful wife, whom he loved extravagantly, and being rebuked for it, gave her to another; and his followers, carrying the doctrine farther, admitted that of the community of wives.* I coincide willingly with the first in this list of authors, as to the bad habits which prevailed in those times amongst the superior clergy; but not to the extent to which their pens, poisoned with fanaticism and party spirit, would lead us. The historian Landulfus, who appears the most moderate, says that the unmarried priests were suspected of Manicheism, and that whoever committed adultery ceased to be promoted; that wives might be divorced for fornication; that the clergyman who misconducted himself was whipped by the bishop; that the priests wore a white vestment different from laymen, and always had a round stick in their hands, with an iron point, to show their ministry; and that in the neighbourhood

* V. Diodati on the Apocalypse; and the Abbé Gioacchino, p. 62.

of the temples were the schools of singing and philosophy.

Hildebrand having set out for France, either with the title of sub-deacon, cardinal, or of archdeacon, which Bennone says was wrested from its possessor, Bonicius, by threats and gold, went direct to Lyons; where he held a council of the neighbouring bishops, and excommunicated the simonists, and the priests who kept concubines. At this council his famous miracle was wrought, of which he subsequently boasted so much, and which gained him so much credit with the simple. There was a certain bishop present, who, although he was a simonist, could not be satisfactorily convicted. Hildebrand, rising up, began to interrogate him, enquiring if he believed the Nicene Creed, and other points of primary interest in the Catholic religion. On his replying in the affirmative, "Recite," says Hildebrand, "the Gloria Patri." The bishop attempted; and the first time he said, "Glory to the Father, and to the Son," repeated the same words three times over, without being able to go any farther; and then, taken with alarm, fell upon his knees, and declared himself guilty of the crime imputed to him. The cardinal received his confession, as a sign of true penitence; and causing him to rise, absolved and reinstated him in his former dignity. Boasting afterwards with his friends of this miracle, St. Damianus states that he heard it from his own lips.

Hildebrand in France.

Council of Lyons.

Miracle of Hildebrand.

From Lyons Hildebrand went to Clugni *, the lives of whose licentious monks he endeavoured to reform, in company with the Abbot Ugone, who had replaced Odilo in 1044. His reform was always accompanied by threats and the sword, condemning to death many of those debauched and ignorant monks, as is related by another, Ugone, his contemporary, in his life of this man. Whilst Hildebrand was passing these sentences, in order to tranquillise the mind and conscience of the father abbot, he said that Jesus Christ himself suggested this conduct to him. The other did not hesitate to believe him; for he probably owed him his rank as abbot. Paulus Bernriedensis here insinuates that, in proof of his holy mission, Hildebrand occasionally interpreted the mind of the poor abbot, penetrating into his most secret thoughts. It was in this manner that the arbitrary and sanguinary acts of our hero were considered as celestial inspirations, and the bold outrages of an individual regarded as the immoveable decrees of Heaven. Ugone thus became the blind instrument of this fanatic; and believed in him, as in one to whom opposition and resistance were impossible. He served him with vigour, in consequence of the power of life and death which he exercised over his monks and vassals; and, believing himself to be the instrument of divine vengeance, he condemned more than one of these wretched crea-

Reforms the monks of Clugni.

* V. Ugo Flavoniacensis in Chron. Verdonen.

tures to capital punishment.* From Clugni Hildebrand went to Tours, and had an interview with Berenger. He there assembled a numerous synod, and condemned his doctrines; although not with that violent spirit which he was wont to indulge on ordinary occasions. On this point he conducted himself with circumspection and prudence, and did not dare to strike one of those decisive blows which used to triumph over all opposition. The famous Lanfranc also figured in this council, and silenced Berenger by his eloquence. The legates of Henry complained that Ferdinand the Great, King of Castile, assumed the title of emperor; and Hildebrand compelled him to renounce his pretensions, and acknowledge the authority of the Roman pontiff. During the progress of these councils a curious circumstance occurred to Victor, when at Florence. Whilst he was officiating, it was rumoured that the chalice was poisoned; and it subsequently became so heavy that he could not raise it. Moreover, the devil suddenly entered the body of the author of this mischief; who, being cleansed by the prayers of the pope, confessed his crime with bitter lamentations. Of such stories are the volumes of the ecclesiastical his-

Synod of Tours.

* The ecclesiastical historians extol so extravagantly the zeal of Ugone on this occasion, as to say that he even punished the indolent monks with death. This height of punishment is scarcely extinct in our time, since every convent has its prison and executioners; nor can the number of victims be small which is condemned, without cause or trial, to perish in the obscurity of a profound secrecy, and in extreme misery.

tory full, without a ray of philosophy or good sense ever penetrating their obscurity. Yet the wisdom of the fathers of the church, and their profound knowledge, is the theme of admiration. Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis, a contemporary historian, vouches for this prodigy; and adds, that the good pope caused the poisoned chalice to be shut up in an altar, and began the ceremony over again. For the sake of truth, as well as the marvellous, it must be understood that the pope had been apprised of the attempt; and that he pardoned the delinquent out of respect to the power and influence of his friends and relations. Bennone says that the sub-deacon was a certain Benzutus, an intimate friend of the late Benedict IX. and of Hildebrand; and who, enjoying the confidence of the powerful men of his time, had already poisoned six popes almost consecutively, with the connivance of Hildebrand. Such a story in the mouth of a declared enemy is not worthy of much credit, and may be certainly calumnious; whilst the impunity of the criminal, and the fact that Hildebrand discontinued from this time his previous practices, afford some reason for believing him to have been an accomplice
1056. in this plot. In the following year the pope recalled him from Gaul, and placed him about his person; and afterwards, at the desire of the emperor, he went into Germany, and celebrated Christmas with him there. In this year there was a great mortality and scarcity in Europe. A number of princes, bishops, and abbots were mowed down by the scythe of Death, the emperor him-

self amongst them, closing his days in the arms of the pope. Before his decease, he asked forgiveness of all men; restored his extortions; and particularly recommended his son, then six years old, to Victor, and the protection of the Roman church.* Death of Henry II. emperor.

Superstition and the worship of images went on, in the mean time, in equal progression. Peter Damianus relates, that a certain monk, Gorgone, under his discipline, had persuaded his brethren not to celebrate the office of the Virgin, as they were hitherto accustomed to do, nor add any thing to the rules and institutions of St. Benedict. The neighbouring people, excited by the devout partisans of the superior, mutinied: they overspread the fields of the convent, and laid them waste. The brethren called to their aid the soldiers of the emperor, who not being sufficient to repress the armed countrymen, they agreed to resume the service, and to adopt, as it were, by divine disposition, that which was only the offspring of the inflamed spirit of their institutor. This being effected, he inflicted a severe discipline on the ringleader, and proved that a thousand floggings are worth a year's penitence. Monday was then consecrated to those who had died in the faith, Friday to the Passions, and Saturday to the Virgin.† (C.)

* Bossi, Storia d' Italia.

† Il Manenti attributes the institution of the office of the Virgin to St. Peter Damianus, towards the year 1050.

Victor II. returned into Italy after the winter of 1057, charged by the Empress-mother, Agnes, who was the tutoress of the young Henry, to govern Italy at his pleasure. Peter Damianus, who was one day inventing superstitions, and the next persecuting his brethren, was thundering from the desert like another John, and writing sundry extravagancies. He wrote a letter to Victor, in which he introduced Jesus Christ speaking to the Pope thus:—"I have constituted thee father of the emperor; I have given into thy hands the keys of my universal church; and, if this be too little, thou mayest add monarchy to it,—so that kings being removed, I promise thee the rights of the whole vacant empire." It is evident from this letter that the ideas of Hildebrand were entertained by all the other monks of his time, and nothing was wanting but an occasion to develope them.

On the arrival of Victor at Florence, he excommunicated Trasimundus, Count of Chieti, who had robbed the ambassadors, amongst whom was Frederic, the brother of Godfrey, Duke of Lorena and Tuscany, on their return from Constantinople. Trasimundus, however, obtained absolution by making a present to the pope, or, as Damianus says, to the monastery of Monte Cassino, of the Castle of Fusa. This monastery was then in great credit; and the popes did every thing in their power to ensure its attachment. They employed the monks on the most important missions; and Frederic himself belonged to their society. Meanwhile, tired of worldly pursuits,

and endeavouring to return thither, he was preceded by Cardinal Umbert, who was on his road to calm the indignation of the monks, which had been excited by the election of a new abbot. The pope had fixed upon a monk, named Peter, of the same place; but the monks, asserting their rights, rejected the authority of the pope to restrict their choice of an abbot, and openly rebelled. Peter, who was a pacific and contented man, willingly divested himself of his charge, which he could not execute without bloodshed; and Frederic was elected by common consent as his successor. The pope then created him a cardinal of St. Grisogono; and, on his going to Rome for his investiture, he heard of the death of Victor. This was in the year 1057; and the Romans, weary of a German pope, had long prayed for his destruction. They repented of the choice which Hildebrand had made, and said amongst themselves, "What Saul hath done, that must Paul suffer." On the news of his death they exhibited their joy in a remarkable manner; and the approbation of the people was divided between Frederic and Hildebrand. The latter was at Florence, under *surveillance*, when Victor died; but, even at this distance, he continued to intrigue with his partisans to influence the votes in his favour. Such practices were often retaliated upon him by his enemies, who said that he had coveted the popedom long before he obtained it. This time, however, all his efforts were fruitless; and Frederic was una-

nimously proclaimed, with such rejoicings as were never exceeded in the case of any other pontiff.*

Election of Stephen IX. 1057.

The new pontiff, as a proof of his zeal, took the name of Stephen IX., it being then the festival of that martyr, and immediately applied himself to the reform of the church. His learning being considerable, and his adherents numerous, and not being altogether destitute of virtue, he procured the condemnation of the simonists and concubinists, and gained the affections of the principal Romans. It is much to be regretted in the history of this period, that scarcely any mention is made of the government of Rome; the pages of the historians abounding with fabulous narrations of the popes. The people, and that immense multitude of men whose destinies were so interesting as a guide to future generations, are almost buried in oblivion. From Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis, Ermannus Contrattus, the Cardinal of Ostia, and the Chronicles of Monte Cassino, Farfa, and other little narratives which scarcely deserve mention, the death of a bishop, or a miracle-working monk, who cast out devils, transported mountains, or turned the course of rivers, are the ideas which are recapitulated in these authors; ideas conceived by wicked and malignant spirits to divert men from the truth, and rejected by all honest minds.

Stephen IX., powerful through the authority

* V. Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis.

of his brother, who commanded at Lorena in Tuscany, and over all the centre of Italy, appointed Desiderius, a monk of Monte Cassino, as its abbot, after his own death, and sent him as nuncio to Constantinople. He also named Peter Damianus a cardinal and Bishop of Ostia, and recalled him from his hermitage to Rome. He appointed Anselmo da Badagio, a Milanese, who afterwards became Alexander II., Bishop of Luna; and brought Hildebrand back to the papal court to live on terms of great harmony with him. He subsequently issued a bull prohibiting ecclesiastics from being cited to the secular tribunals, and exempting them from taxes. Whilst he was meditating a still more serious matter, Providence arrested its execution by its inscrutable agency. He sent orders to Monte Cassino that all the treasures of that sacred place, consisting of gold and silver, should be suddenly and secretly transported to Rome; promising to replace them shortly with interest. His project was to go to his brother, Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, to place the imperial crown on his head; and then to expel the Normans from the kingdom of Naples, which they had nearly devastated. This hardy design was supported by the wishes of all good men, and was very conformable to the views of Hildebrand, who perhaps advised it. It was, indeed, high time to shake off the iron yoke of Germany, which never was calculated to confer the blessings of tranquillity and repose on unhappy Italy. It was impossible for these

Promotions of Stephen IX.

rulers, living at so great a distance, to be acquainted with the wounds with which she was lacerated; since they only visited her as the messengers of desolation and blood. The monks and priests who indirectly favoured this noble design obtained, in progress of time, sufficient favour to promote commotion and slaughter; but, although they succeeded in effecting their private object with regard to the temporal power of the popes, they did not accomplish the freedom of the people from foreign dominion. Godfrey, who was at the head of a powerful army, might have created a new dynasty in Italy with trifling opposition, and have raised her name to a level with that of other nations. But Fate ordained it otherwise; and doomed this devoted country to pay the penalty of all the atrocities and crimes which, for a long series of years, had contaminated it in the time of its supremacy.

In spite, however, of the opposition of monkish avarice, the treasure was carried away; when the pope, whose constitution was weakened by illness, felt some conscientious scruples, and ordered it to be all restored to its original destination. He afterwards assembled the clergy and Roman people, and caused them all to swear that, in case of his death, no new election should be made till after the return of Hildebrand from Germany, where he was gone on urgent business of the church. He then set out for Florence, where, on his arrival, he died, in the arms of his brother and Ugo, Abbot of Clugni, the 29th

Death of Stephen IX.

May, 1058.* He was canonised like many of his predecessors; and perhaps, for his good intentions, merited this distinction better than most of them.

The Roman people, who had always reluctantly submitted to the German popes, the envoys of the emperors, were desirous, on this occasion, to hasten their choice, regardless of their oath to the deceased pontiff. Gregory, the son of Albericus, a Tusculan count; Gerard, Count of Galeria, commander of Rome; the Ptolemys, the Crescenzi, with almost all the Roman nobility, having gained over the clergy and the mob, went armed by night to the church of Lateran, and proclaimed John Mincius, Bishop of Villetri, who was nicknamed Stupid, pope, as Benedict X. St. Peter Damianus, although he was friendly to the monks, calls him "most ignorant;" and, in conjunction with other cardinals, protested against an election tumultuously carried on without the consent of the imperial court. They referred, too, to the oath which had been taken; and exerted themselves to the utmost to detach the greater part from the undertaking. Any further attempt was useless. The counts and the people put the cardinals, preceded by Damianus, the Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia, to flight; and since they could not have him (to whom belonged the right) to consecrate the

Tumultuary election of the pope at Rome, as Benedict X. 1058.

* St. Baronius says that this abbot (Ugo) delivered the pope three times from a devil, who was watching for his soul when he died, and who was foiled by his penitence. What a specimen of the literary food of juvenile Catholics!

new pontiff, they compelled the Arch-priest of Ostia, a most ignorant creature, to perform the ceremony.

Political and religious institutions of Rome.

It is unknown whether the ancient system, in relation to its political institutions, continued in force at this time, or whether the daily increasing power of the papacy had produced any change. The ecclesiastical historians, whose mouths are always full of the acts of their ambitious saints, make no mention of them; and we may infer, from considering all the circumstances, that the Tusculan counts, from the ascendancy which their families had acquired under preceding pontiffs, always retained the first offices of the state, with the title of Lateran Counts, which was the highest dignity of the time, and was conferred by the pope himself, independently of the Roman people. Having spoken of the Cardinal of Silva-Candida, the Bishop of Lavicano, the Count of Galeria, and others, it must be recollected that the Campagna Romana, on the sea-coast, although devastated by the invasions of the barbarians, Greeks, Lombards, Gauls, and Saracens, still contained not a few cities of considerable population; amongst them, those from which these titles were derived, and which were subsequently destroyed by the revolutions, which it is our object to relate. Rome itself, which might be called a great convent of monks and priests, and which had long since lost its ancient warlike institutions and laurel-crowned temples, contained five patriarchal churches and twelve deaneries, and a vast number of religious houses

and institutions, the heads and officers of which, with a multitude of collateral and suffragan bishops and cardinals, deacons and sub-deacons, formed the papal court. From this statement, some notion may be formed of the Roman revenues, more particularly if we take into the account the male and female slaves which were maintained; by means of all which, the influence of the pontiff was greatly increased in Rome and its dependencies, of which he became almost absolute lord. In spite of this, however, the Roman people were very jealous of their privileges; and, when the imperial army did not, the clergy struggled in vain to oppress them. When the people elected the pontiff of themselves, then the cardinals accused the elect of simony; and antipopes, and plots, and factions, were prepared. Under these circumstances, the small sums of money which the prefect and senators were in the habit of distributing to the people were said to be vomited by corruption; although the custom was one of the most ancient of the Romish church, and derived its origin from the elections of the emperors.* Even in our days a relic of it is still preserved in the money which is distributed to the poor on the election of a new pontiff, and which never pro-

* Among the many obligations of the newly elected pontiff, is that of absolving from the excommunications which had been incurred, and the perjuries which had been committed, during the course of the conclave. Thus they made a mockery of the most sacred laws, both human and divine, in the certainty of a speedy and efficient absolution.

duces a charge of simony; although, after the closing of the conclave, the most important offices of the state are granted to those cardinals who possess the greatest influence, and, with this promotion, pensions and extraordinary favours are combined. A living example of this system may be found in the secretary of state who made the pope, and now fulfils his duties.* But simony, prevailing amongst a few, excites no observation; and while by it the oldest and most infirm cardinal is elected pope, and the most artful his secretary, the work goes on quietly and religiously under the eyes of the deluded spectators.

* Cardinal Albani, and the Antipope Pius VIII.

CHAP. II.

THE ACTS OF THE MONK HILDEBRAND BEFORE HIS ACCESSION TO THE PAPACY — CONTINUED.

When the news of the pope's death found its way into Germany, Hildebrand lost no time in returning to Italy previously to the election of a new one. All his efforts were, however, unsuccessful; and he was greatly afflicted, although not depressed, by learning, on his road, the election of Benedict. He strove to remedy this momentary derangement of his plan; and, arriving at Sienna, assembled a council of bishops in concert with Duke Godfrey, and elected another pontiff, in the person of Gerard, Bishop of Florence, a native of Burgundy, and worthy, according to Muratori, from his sense and virtues, of so high a dignity. Nor did his efforts rest here; but, surrounded with a Tuscan army, and relying upon the good understanding of the Germans and imperial court, he marched towards Rome with his new pope, and halted at Sutri, at the

Election of Nicholas II. 1058.

suggestion of the Tusculan counts, who had many armed followers in Rome. There assembling a fresh council of bishops and cardinals, his partisans, with a considerable number of German and Italian princes, he treated of the deposition of Mincius. The object which he had in view was not very difficult to accomplish. Mincius, terrified, laid aside the pontifical insignia, and confessed repentance. After the humiliation of his rival, some say that Gerard, assuming the name of Nicholas II., entered Rome without a military escort, and was proclaimed pontiff by the clergy and people. Others, as Ciacconius, a great eulogist of this pope, assert, that Hildebrand, having imprisoned Mincius at Villetri, and deposed him from the episcopal dignity, entered Rome towards the end of December, accompanied by the pope and the troops of Godfrey; drove out the adherents of the opposite faction; and caused Nicholas II. to be consecrated as the true and legitimate pontiff, on the 6th of January, 1059, in the church of St. Peter.

It is asserted by some authors, that Nicholas was scarcely consecrated before he excommunicated Benedict and his partisans; and that finally, upon his sincerely repenting, he absolved him, but imprisoned him in St. Maria Maggiore, and deprived him of the priesthood. This last affliction probably caused his death.

Death of Benedict X.

The Romans, subdued by arms and intrigues, were compelled to yield to the power and ambi-

tion of the monk; who, from that moment, forgot his hatred to the Germans, and acted in a manner entirely contrary to his own principles. In spite of the precautions of Henry, and the council of Sutri, he placed Leo IX., Victor II., and Stephen IX. on the throne of St. Peter; and alternately depressing and exalting the rights of the people, and the power of the emperor, compelled the adoption of the pope of his own choice. No sooner had Godfrey retired with his troops into Tuscany than tumults and divisions broke out in Rome, and disturbed the tranquillity of the pontiff; who retired to Pisenum, leaving the care of the church and the city to Hildebrand, who, at this conjuncture, conducted himself with his wonted courage. He succeeded in quieting the most violent spirits by means of promises and bribes; and procuring, as some assert, the death of Benedict by violent means, pacified the Tusculan count and all his party.

From Osimo Pope Nicholas, accompanied by Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, returned to Rome, and celebrated Easter. Assembling afterwards a council in the Lateran, of one hundred and thirteen bishops, it was decreed, amongst other matters, that if any one should be placed in the chair of St. Peter either by bribery or influence, or popular or military tumult, without the assent and canonical election of the cardinals and clergy, he should thenceforth be accounted an apostate, and excommunicated by the cardinals and priests, and expelled by any means

Council of Rome.

whatever from his usurped authority; saving the honour and reverence due to our beloved son Henry, now king, and hoping, by the Divine aid, soon to become emperor, to whom this right of assent had always been granted by the apostolic see.* (D.)

Berenger condemned a second time.

Berenger, who had many friends and acquaintances at the holy see, presented himself also before the council; and, after long discussion, was again condemned, and compelled to swear to a formula of faith, written expressly for him by Cardinal Umbert. This formula was afterwards sent to all the churches of Italy and France, in order to rebut the creed of Berenger as false and heretical, and make those who were infected renounce it. Berenger, however, having fled from Rome, continued to propagate his opinions with greater zeal than ever; asserting that the formula was Cardinal Umbert's, and not his own; as we gather from the letters of Lanfranc written against him. In perusing the documents illustrative of this point of history, I cannot imagine how a man who held such opinions on the eucharist should have escaped arrest and persecution, and been elevated, although he was condemned in all the councils,—and that, too, at a time when

* Mosheim, in his "Ecclesiastical History," remarks, that this is the first decree made by the popes to exclude the people from their election, and confer the right solely on the cardinals and clergy; and, moreover, it is differently reported by every author. The decision of this question I leave to the reader, giving the principal facts of the decree as I have found them in the Chronicle of Farfa, in the Barberini Library.

the fires were lighted against every description of heretics: it affords a sufficient indication that these opinions were not singular with him, but were of general reception, as the Protestants affirm; and had also, as they no less zealously declare, the earliest and most sacred origin.

Lanfranc, the great advocate of the contrary opinions, was always requiring some miracle from Berenger in proof of his assertions, such as he himself exhibited at various times.* One of these is said to have happened to Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi; who, not believing in the reality of the body, felt the real flesh and blood in his fingers. A similar miracle occurred in the thirteenth century, which goes by the name of the miracle of Bolsena; an evident proof that opinion upon this matter was not permanently established. It gave occasion, according to some authors, to the building of the cathedral of Orvieto: but it is impossible to believe its reality, and difficult to discover its origin.†

To continue, however, the task of the historian rather than of the critic. — At the close of Nicholas's council, Cardinal Benzone began to exert himself, with all the bishops of Lombardy, amongst whom the preservation of tranquillity was to be attributed, to the case of Hildebrand, who had provided for every contingency ‡; and was rewarded by being made an archdeacon at

Hildebrand made an archdeacon.

* See the letters of Lanfranc in Baronius, anno 1019.

† See Il Padre della Valle, Storia del Duomo d' Orvieto.

‡ Other provisions were made at the council against concubinage; and married priests were restricted from saying mass to the people.

the expense of Manuzius, who was purposely deposed.*

The pope now, at the suggestion of the Normans, who were becoming more amenable to the church, went to hold a council in Apulia, against the simonists and concubinists, in the presence of Richard I., Count of Averso; and another in Beneventum, accompanied invariably by his favourite, Archdeacon Hildebrand. The Normans were now no longer considered as strangers and invaders, adulterers, freebooters, and destroyers, as in times not far remote; but were accounted brave allies, worthy some day of being the shield of the church. To Robert Guiscard, the head of these adventurers, Pope Nicholas granted in fee the states which he had conquered, and might conquer hereafter, in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, then occupied by the Saracens; and conferred on him the title of Duke. Robert, in return, swore allegiance to the pope; binding himself to pay every year to the Holy See twelve pence of Parian money for every pair of oxen in his territory. Historians, even Muratori himself, ask by what right the pope could give the investiture of that which was not his; and the latter suggests in his answer, that this mode of proceeding by the pontiffs depended on the false donation of Constantine to Pope Silvester, by virtue of which all the Western Empire was supposed to have been bequeathed to the Holy See. This invention of the ninth century had acquired

* Ciacconius, Vit. Rom. Pont.

its principal credit at the time when the emperor was an infant, and in the hands of his mother, or of ignorant and stupid flatterers.*

But the real source of these transactions emanated from the fruitful mind of Hildebrand. He laid it down as a principle, that the pope was neither more nor less than Emperor of the West; being the prince who resided in that fatal city which was once the head and centre of the whole civilised world, and to which naturally belonged the right of investiture of all those kingdoms which it formerly created or subdued. This vast idea of the pontifical supremacy set in motion the abilities of that ardent spirit, which was capable of kindling the sparks, and lighting a devouring fire.

Nicholas returns to Rome.

Reinforced by so formidable an alliance of adventurers, Nicholas II. retraced his steps; and Palestrina, Tusculum, Nomentum, Galeria, and almost the whole Roman territory, became the unhappy prey of this insatiable and sanguinary people. The party of his rival, Benedict X., had taken refuge in the Campagna, where the respective counts and barons resided; and the pope, attacking them in their retreats, defeated and almost entirely destroyed them. From this period may reasonably be dated the extermination of the Roman territory, and its numerous population, which the pontiffs have never been able to restore. Scarcely, now, are the names

* The Chronicle of Farfa, which treats of this donation, distinguishes the spiritual from the temporal dominion, and contends that the former only was granted to Silvester.

even known in history of the cities which existed in the eleventh century; and with difficulty can their site be pointed out. After this brutal enterprise, in which the Allobrozian Nicholas was revenged of his enemies, he despatched an embassy (composed of Peter Damianus and Anselmus Badagius, Bishop of Lucca,) to Milan, to heal the schisms of the clergy, who were dreadfully divided by superstition and fanaticism upon the two points, as usual, of simony and the marriage of the priests; the latter of which was sanctioned by long custom, and the practice of the Greek church. On the other hand, the fervour of a few zealous monks, and some remains of Manicheism, which never could be eradicated from the minds of the Italians, who considered the right of procreation as emanating from the evil principle, caused matrimony to be regarded as a powerful obstacle to that evangelical perfection at which priests ought to aim.*

* Ariosto, in his fifth Satire, thus expresses himself:—

"Ma fui di parer sempre e cosi detto
L' ho piu volte, che senza moglie a lato
Non puote uomo, in bontade esser perfetto
Ne senza si puo star senza peccato:
Che chi non ha del suo, fuor accattarne
Mendicando — orulandolo e forgato,
E chi s' usa a beccar dell' attuie carne,
Diventa Ghiotto ed oygi tordo a guaglia,
Doman fagiani un attro di vuol starne
Non sa, quel che sia amor, non sa che vaglia
La caritate, e quin di avvien che i preti
Sono si ingorda e si crudel canaglia."

On this subject the following works might be advantageously consulted: — Storia di Milano — dei due Landolfi

Peter Damianus laboured with such effect at Milan that he succeeded in his mission; annihilating the church and Archbishop Guido's party, and inducing the latter to confess himself guilty of simony, and go to Rome for absolution.

In 1060, Nicholas repaired to Florence; thence again to Monte Cassino, deposing and creating bishops; and finally to Florence, where he died, on the 4th of June, 1061.*

The turbulent spirit of the nobility and people was scarcely appeased in Rome, when the death of the pontiff was announced. Suddenly a great number of persons of all descriptions assembled, and agreed to send a deputation to the young king, Henry; charged with bearing him a crown of gold, and the dignity of a Roman Patrician. The heads of this deputation were the Counts of Tusculum and Galeria, who then governed the political affairs of Rome. The knowledge of this deputation coming to Henry, he assembled a council of bishops at Basle, where he received it; and, by common consent, Cadolaus, Bishop of Parma, and chancellor of the Empire, was elected pontiff, as Honorius II. He himself afterwards accepted the gifts and honours which had been sent him by the Roman people.

Election of Cadolaus, Oct. 28. 1061.

Whilst these scenes were being acted in Germany, Hildebrand was not idle. He assembled all the cardinals and people who were favourable

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— di Bernardino Corio — and the work of M. Potter on the clergy of Milan.

* Bennone says that Nicholas was poisoned by Hildebrand.

Election of Anselmo, Bishop of Lucca. 1061.

to him, and proclaimed Anselmo da Badagio, Bishop of Lucca, as pope. Thus there were already two rival popes, one attached to the imperial party, the other to that of Godfrey and Hildebrand, both of noble birth and moderate abilities: but Anselmo was destitute of that elevation of mind which is requisite for governing, and was only capable of executing the designs of others. Cadolaus, on the other hand, son of the Count of Sabulano, having been left an orphan, had learned to arrive at the highest ecclesiastical preferment by dexterity and boldness; and was, undoubtedly, one of the ablest men of his time.

The two parties being thus separated, and Hildebrand having destroyed every remnant of popular government in the city, had now become the supreme regulator of spiritual and temporal matters in the Roman state; and no one dared to contradict his will. He sent an embassy to the imperial court, to acquaint Henry with the election of Anselmo at Rome under his auspices; and of his readiness to support him with the sword, if necessary. The cardinal deputy was not received by the emperor; and nothing was left but to have recourse to arms. Cadolaus got together an army of Germans and Italians, amongst whom were included all the Roman nobility, and departed for Italy. Hildebrand armed the lower orders at Rome, who seconded him wonderfully; sought allies in the Normans and from Tuscany; and lost no time in seating on the throne of St. Peter his beloved Anselmo, by

the name of Alexander II.; a name worthy of a pope who had gained his dignity by conquest.*

Anselmo assumes the name of Alexander II.

Matters were at this point when Benzone, Bishop of Alba, presented himself at Rome on the part of Cadolaus, intimating to Alexander that he must descend from the throne which he had usurped. He reminded him of the ancient customs, and the decree of Nicholas himself, which required the approbation of the emperor for the legitimate inauguration of any pope. But Hildebrand silenced and compelled him to leave Rome. Cardinal Bennone here relates that Alexander II., immediately on his enthronement, preached to the people that he was willing to suspend the exercise of his functions until he had obtained the emperor's approbation; at which the enraged Hildebrand struck him, and shut him up in his apartments to repent and fast.

Cadolaus marches to Rome.

Cadolaus now lost no time; but, informed of the unfavourable result of the Bishop of Alba's mission, marched straight to Rome, with an army full of

* Benzone, Bishop of Alba, in Monferrato, inveighs bitterly against the election of Alexander II.; and says that it was a thing unheard of for two centuries, that the consecration of a pope should be dependent upon monks, and such monks! defamed by their perjuries, debauched by their impure commerce with virgins consecrated to God, asking charity in rags to-day, and to-morrow sending forth their insolent and arrogant voice:—"Nam eorum monachorum panniculi erant sine utrâque manicâ; in dextro latere pendebat cucurbita, in sinistro mantica barbata vero genitalia, nesciebant sarabara, et hodie coram elevato simulacro, resonantibus tubis perstrepunt taratantara."—V. Benzon. Episc. Alb. Paneg. Hen. Imp. lib. ii. cap. i. et iv. et lib. vii. apud Johan. Burchard. Menck. tom. i. p. 984.

enterprise and courage. On his arrival, he encamped in the neighbourhood of the city, and prepared for the most obstinate conflict. Hildebrand issued from the gates at the head of the infuriated multitude, and engaged with his rival on the plains of Nero, on the 14th of April, 1062. The battle was long and bloody; but the people, at length broken, sought safety in flight. The victorious Cadolaus entered Rome, occupied its fortified posts, and was on the point of enjoying the fruits of his victory, when he heard that Hildebrand and Duke Godfrey were advancing with a powerful army to renew the attack. He was not in a condition for a fresh encounter, after a day on which he had already lost the flower of his troops; but he shut himself up in the city, with all his forces, with the determination to sustain a siege. Godfrey, then assaulting the city on all sides, overcame every obstacle; and Cadolaus, wishing to save himself, resolved to fly. The Tuscan army then invaded all the ancient Roman duchy, and conquered the hostile barons, amongst whom the Crescenzi and a certain Peter Leo, who, from a Jew, had become one of the most powerful lords, were distinguished. Many of their friends passed under the dominion of Godfrey; and the Dukes of Camerino and Spoleto were not exempt from his invasion. Rome, thus become the theatre of war, was a prey to all the horrors of civil contests. The populace, unloosed, forgave no one whom they met of an opposite faction; and Hildebrand could scarcely satisfy his thirst for

Battle on the plains of Nero.

Victory of Hildebrand.

blood. Alexander II. remained in possession of the throne, which he only nominally enjoyed.

Hymns of glory and jubilee (E) were offered up to Hildebrand after his victory, and his courtiers strove to exalt him to the skies. St. Alferius, Archbishop of Amalfi, was one of his poetical flatterers, who did not hesitate to compare the glory of a sanguinary monk to that of the most virtuous Romans. The study of the saints in those days was to sustain each other in public opinion, heedless of any injury which truth might suffer. The archbishops of Amalfi were the most learned prelates of the time; and Amalfi itself, abounding in riches, was one of the principal cities of the south of Italy.*

But Cadolaus, although conquered and withdrawn from Rome, could not obtain peace from his enemies. Godfrey and Hildebrand persecuted him in every possible manner; and their proceedings at the German court, for this purpose, were every day more intemperate and numerous. In order to deprive him of refuge with Henry, they sent Bishop Annone to seize the young king, who was still living under the guardianship of the empress-mother. This bishop did actually repair to the imperial court by the Rhine, and invited Henry, who was only thirteen years old, to dine on board his magnificent bark. The inexperienced and unsuspecting king willingly accepted the invitation; and had scarcely put foot in the bark when he was hurried off to Cologne,

* Card. Baronius, ad hunc ann.

the residence of Annone, with the appearance of some more criminal design. Henry, alarmed, and thinking he was condemned to death, threw himself into the river; but Count Ecbert, who accompanied him, swam after him, and took him back safe to the arms of the archbishop. Being finally informed of the real object of his seizure, the king submitted to his fate, and assented to the instructions which this perfidious bishop suggested to him. The Empress Agnes, afflicted at these proceedings, and feeling incapable of resisting her too powerful enemies, manifested great repentance for the protection which she had hitherto afforded to Cadolaus; and, having received absolution from Alexander II., renounced the affairs of state, and fixed her residence at Rome.*

Council of Cologne.

Annone, having thus successfully executed his mission, hastened to assemble a council of

* The letters of Peter Damianus written in honour of this empress are sufficiently curious. He describes her entrance into Rome, on a little horse, not unlike a donkey, laden with jewels and precious gifts for the altar of St. Peter. Damianus himself was chosen for her confessor, and, after comparing her to the Queen of Sheba, Rachel, and all the heroines of antiquity, he says that, having heard her confession, he could not find any subject of reproof; and that at its termination he said to her,—"Age quod agis, operare quod operaris." There is some analogy between the life of this princess and that of Christina, Queen of Sweden: both renounced the throne to dedicate their lives to devotion; both finished their career a prey to their prejudices and extravagance; and if what Voltaire asserts be true, that Agnes had a lover in the person of her minister, the Bishop of Augsburg, she would assimilate still more to Christina in point of licentiousness.

bishops, with his youthful prisoner, at Cologne, in order to discuss the legality of Alexander's election.*

The report of this council was echoed in Rome; and, in the Lent of 1062, many prelates and abbots were convened in the Lateran, under the presidency of Alexander, to pronounce Cadolaus an antipope and excommunicated.† It was easy to condemn an absent man, and one who had lost almost his whole army in battle. But Cadolaus was not subdued. Retiring to Parma, he collected a new and great army, by the assistance of the bishops of Lombardy, who were all on his side; and in the following year moved towards Rome. The Roman nobility, who hated a fanatic and cruel monk, who, at the head of the populace, threatened every thing with revenge and ruin, were also in his favour. Arriving at Rome, he occupied the Leonine part of the city, and other positions advantageous for a battle, without opposition. The people, however, excited by Hildebrand, ranged themselves under his banner; and, in conjunction with the Tuscan army of Godfrey,

Cadolaus returns to Rome.

* Vide Labbe, tom. xii.; et Card. Baronius ad hunc ann.

† Labbe gives a decree of this council against married priests, as follows:—"Quicunque sacerdos vel diaconus, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ predecessoris nostri santissimi Pap. Leonis aut Nicolai de castitate clericorum, concubinam duxerit, palam vel ductam non reliquerit ex parte omnipotentis Dei et auctoritate Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, præcipimus ut non cautel. missam neque Evangelia, neque epistolam admissam legat, neque in presbiterio ad divina officia, cum his qui præfatæ constitutioni obedientes fuerint, maneat, neque partem ab ecclesia suscipeat."

rushed furiously to the attack. The undisciplined soldiers of Cadolaus, seeing the fury and ardour of their enemies, could not resist the shock; and, panic-struck, took to flight. Cadolaus, who called himself Onorius II., surrounded by a few friends, and defending himself gallantly against the fury of the Hildebrandists, would have fallen alive into their hands, had not Cencius, the son of the prefect of the city, opened a passage with his sword through the Tuscan troops, and led him in safety to his fortress in the Castle of St. Angelo. Its siege was immediately commenced; and for two years Onorius and Cencius maintained themselves there under innumerable pains and difficulties: at the end of which time the former succeeded in escaping with a few of his companions, and returned to Lombardy. According to the Acts of Nicholas of Aragon, Cadolaus paid Crescentius three hundred pounds of silver to liberate him from prison; but this is an imputation contrary to probability, and the relation of all other historians, who make Crescentius or Cencius a participator in his fate.

Cadolaus escapes.

The victorious Pope Alexander, heedless of his dignity, and averse to warlike factions, remained at Lucca in the quiet enjoyment of his bishopric, whilst at Rome they were fighting to sustain it.* The management of the temporal and spiritual affairs of the papacy was conducted by Hildebrand; who sentenced his enemies to death, and rewarded those who blindly executed his will. Thus, whilst

* V. Ptolomæus Lucensis, Ann. et Hist. Eccles. lib. xix. tom. ii. Rer. Ital

the contest was going on at Rome, he expedited Peter Damianus to Florence, to reconcile the bishop of that city to the monks of Vallambrosa, who accused him of simony. The flames of war, kindled in the capital, spread to the provinces; and every place was full of contentions and blood. For a moment Peter Damianus seemed to lean to the side of the Bishop of Florence, and to condemn the monks as rebels and disturbers of the peace; and then the rage of the monks confounded the mediator with their adversary, and proclaimed him also to be a schismatic and simonist. This same year, Hildebrand sent the standard of St. Peter to Roger the Norman, who had conquered the Moors of Sicily in a pitched battle; encouraging him to prosecute his enterprise, and thanking him for a gift of four camels which he had sent to St. Peter, with other spoils taken on the field.

In the midst of this warlike excitement, Rome had lost every form of regular government; its consuls being dispersed, the prefect a fugitive, and the patrician, Henry, a prisoner of Bishop Annone. The soldiers of Godfrey sacked every thing, and the surrounding country was destroyed and laid waste.* The conquerors, however, were monks; and, in the height of their glory, they worked miracles in every direction; and

* La Cronica della Cava, in 1062, says, "Stella cometes apparuit, Gotifridus dux cum magno exercitu in campaniam venit usque Aquinum. Richardus Princeps urbem Marsorum intravit."—*Rer. Ital.* tom. vii. This event, however, happened in 1066.

woe to those who were incredulous! They contemplated the formation of new conquests and new colonies in the islands adjacent to Italy; and the Pisans, jealous of their dominion over the island of Sardinia, were compelled to sink a vessel laden with a cargo of monks, to prevent them from disturbing them in their possessions.*

This did not, however, prevent all monastic establishments from proving the ferocity and cruelty of Hildebrand. Towards the year 1065 it appears, from Muratori, that some disturbances had broken out in the convent of the island of Tremiti, dependent on Monte Cassino. The wise Abbot Desiderius recalled a certain monk of the name of Adam, who was the abbot, and replaced him by Thrasimund, the son of Oderisius, Count of Marsi. He was hardly arrived at his post when he apprehended four of the monks, scooped out their eyes, and cut off their tongues. Desiderius, a man of real piety, greatly afflicted at this brutal proceeding, fled himself to Tremiti, displaced Thrasimund, and, driving him out of the convent, subjected him to a severe penance. But Hildebrand, who was watching every thing, censured the inexpedient piety of the abbot; called Thrasimund a brave and resolute man; and conferred on him, as a reward for his conduct, a better abbey than he had lost, and made him also a bishop. Such were the spirits most congenial to the cruel and inexorable Hildebrand, —such the objects of his promotion to the highest

* V. La Cronica Pisana, ann. 1065; et Muratori, Ann. d' Italia.

offices in the church. From this specimen of ferocious despotism, the reader may form some idea of the miseries which afflicted Italy in these ages. Let him imagine the enraged populace remaining victors after a furious battle, and wrought up with the idea that they were fighting in the cause of God. The city of Galeria was then destroyed, with its count: the counts in Tuscanella and the Tusculan counts were persecuted, and their castles besieged; and every baron, rather than fall alive into the hands of his enemies, sought to sell his life dearly. We know, indeed, from our own experience, the bitterness of pontifical revenge in its spiritual hatred. We need only traverse the provinces of Rome to hear the accounts of the victims which yet groan in the prisons of the pope. Leo XII. alone, in his short reign of five years, after having persecuted all his private enemies, and revenged the most trivial injuries of his early life, left more than fifteen hundred state prisoners, called Carbonari, to languish in perpetual dungeons.*

One of the darkest spots in the life of Godfrey was the war which he waged to sustain the ambition of Hildebrand; and although his own project of becoming lord of all Italy might, in some measure, justify his course, nevertheless, in rendering himself the blind instrument of the monks, he played the part of the most odious of tyrants. He assaulted the Counts of Anguillara in their castles, and destroyed them all; besieged Viterbo,

* Manenti, Storia d' Orvieto.

Vetralla, Tuscanella, Corneto, and united them, together with the greater part of the Roman duchy, under his dominion. These important conquests, and his friendship with the formidable Hildebrand, awakened the jealousy of the neighbouring Normans; who also aimed at the absolute dominion of Italy, and clearly foresaw that the success of the Tuscan duke would be a serious obstacle to their future designs. They therefore made some demonstrations against the new conquests of their rival; and, finding them disregarded, they moved their troops against the Roman territory. Richard, Prince of Capua, advanced almost to the walls of Rome, and loudly demanded of Hildebrand to be appointed patrician. This dignity, as we have shown, had already been conferred on the young King Henry. It was now necessary to resume it, and declare his election null, or meet the Normans in arms. The last proposition was most consonant with the character of our hero, and he consequently chose it. The scattered troops were hastily collected, and Godfrey marched to the encounter. He was accompanied by the pope, by Hildebrand, and all the pontifical court, who animated the soldiers to rapine and bloodshed. The Normans retired into their frontier fortresses, which were immediately besieged. The city of Aquino was particularly invested; and, after various combats, in which the victory was always doubtful, the parties came to a treaty, by which the Normans were bound to pay a large sum of money, and to keep within their primitive confines.

Peace between the Normans and Godfrey.

Hildebrand, thus liberated from the vexations of the restless Normans, turned with greater zeal to the complaints of the monks of Vallambrosa, in order to appease them, and restore peace to the troubled multitude of Florence. The parties were so inflamed, that the Florentine bishop could not free himself from the stain of simony without undergoing the ordeal of fire. This was the most approved trial at a time of corrupt doctrine, when God was tempted by pretended miracles to satisfy the caprice of men.* A great fire accordingly was lighted in the Piazza, at Florence, before the assembled people; and one of the monks of Vallambrosa, named Peter, in order to prove the guilt of the bishop, passed harmless, with naked feet, over the flames. The multitude, attracted always by appearances, were stupified at the transaction, and cried out loudly that the bishop was a simonist and malefactor. There was no arguing against a miracle; and the bishop, obliged to confess his guilt, was subjected to a severe penance, voluntarily confining himself in a convent. The monk Peter, who was immediately hailed as a saint, did not remain unrewarded. Hildebrand created him a cardinal and Bishop of Albano, with the surname of Igneus, and employed him in embassies of the first importance.† This occurrence took place in the first week of Lent 1067, and was greatly instrumental to the views of Hildebrand, from his consequent association in his ambitious projects

* Muratori, Ann. d' Ital. 1067. † Id. ibid.

with Igneus, who served him as a living Thaumaturgus. There occurred at the same time many tumultuous and sanguinary scenes in the city, from the general persecution and dispersion of the archbishop's party. Petracci, also a monk of Vallambrosa, endeavoured, in the sixteenth century, to prove the close intimacy which existed between Hildebrand and Cardinal Igneus, by deriving their mutual origin from the noble stock of the Aldobrandi; although it is certain that, as a monk, Peter was charged with looking after the cows belonging to his convent. Be that as it may, it is clear that Pope Alexander and Peter Damianus were opposed to the party of the Vallombrosians, and that the first had prohibited the trial by fire the subsequent year.*

Having previously expressed my opinions upon this kind of miracle, if so it may be called, I shall not dilate any further upon its validity †;

* Damianus, in his letters, compares the monks of Vallambrosa to the locusts which destroyed the verdure of the church.

† Pope Alexander, in order to appease the monks of Vallambrosa, who disturbed the tranquillity of the people, ordered them not to quit the cloisters, nor to preach. One of them, by name Teuzos, the bitterest enemy of Damianus, raised a doubt as to whether those who were reputed as saints by the church in reality were so; and called in question the sanctity of St. Romualdus, who was universally acknowledged by the people. V. Baron. Ann. Eccl. According to Mosheim, the school of medicine at Salerno had begun to be celebrated in the eleventh century; and its famous aphorisms are supposed to have been written at the desire of William the Conqueror. M. Sismondi, however, in his "History of the Literature of the South of Europe," pretends to attribute to the

but I cannot refrain from stating that Duke Godfrey felt differently from the vulgar on this matter, and well-nigh lost the friendship of Hildebrand for his scepticism on this account. So disgusted was he with the intrigues of the brotherhood, that he wished to replace the deposed bishop in his see, and acknowledge Cadolaus as pope; but Damianus, always attentive to the interests of his party, induced the duke, by letters and exhortations, to wave his own opinion rather than destroy in a moment the labour of so many sanguinary years. In these letters Damianus gives Cadolaus the title of Antichrist, and the apostle of Antichrist, and says that he was worse than the devil himself.*

For the better consolidation of the canonical

Arabs of this century the discovery, or at least the use, of the compass, paper, and powder, and calls these people the most enlightened chemists. It is not a little strange that the art of resisting fire should have the same origin, although the ancient secret of the Gentile priests had been lost.

* The following are the expressions of Damianus: — "Inimicus humanæ salutis, radix peccati, præco diaboli, apostolus Antichristi, sagitta producta de petra Satanæ, virga Assur, filius Belial, filius perditionis, qui adversatur et extollitur super omne quod cólitur; vorago libidinis, naufragium castitatis, opprobrium et ignominium sacerdotum, genitor viperorum, factor artix, spurcitia sæculi, dedecus universitatis, serpens lubricus, coluber tortuosus, storcus hominum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli — projitio Paradisi, patulum Tartari, stipula ignis æterni." These invectives were equally retorted by the opposite party; and Berenger calls the church of Rome "Vanitatis concilium, et ecclesia malignantium sedis Satanæ."

election of Alexander, it was proposed to assemble a council at Mantua, before Godfrey, and Annone, Bishop of Cologne, and King Henry. This Annone, whom we have seen figuring in the abduction of the young king, had the reputation of being a saint, and as such was worshipped after his death. He diverted himself also by working miracles, as may be seen in his life written by the Bollandists; and, after having surpassed all his rival bishops in influence and power, he obtained the guardianship of Henry in the manner above narrated, and sustained the party of Hildebrand in Germany with the greatest zeal. After having bestowed all the employments of the court on his friends and relations, he conferred the richest prebends and bishoprics on whomsoever seemed best to him; and departed from Rome with the view of giving the last blow to Cadolaus. From the moment that Christianity was introduced into our provinces, sanctity was detached from power, as two things utterly incompatible; but henceforward they began to re-unite, and every sovereign bishop died a saint. On his arrival at Rome with the title of Governor of the King, and the whole kingdom, Annone instantly demanded an audience of the pope, who received him in the midst of his cardinals, and whom he thus addressed: "How, O Brother Alexander, came you ever to receive the papacy without the orders or consent of the king my master? his privilege is long and ancient:" and then, beginning from the patricians of the Romans and the emperors, he named many,

both in order and succession, without whose consent no election was valid; upon which Hildebrand, rising, with a voice of thunder ordered him to believe that in the elections of the Roman pontiffs, according to the canonical sanction of the holy fathers, nothing had been yielded or given to the king. He employed all the ascendancy of his eloquence in giving a forced interpretation to the last decree of Nicholas II., which clearly made against his argument.* Annone and his party, being convinced, sought immediately to re-assemble the council at Mantua for form's sake, and to give greater weight to the resolutions which were already taken. Invitations were immediately sent to all the bishops known to be favourable, and amongst them to Damianus, whose great reputation for sanctity had a powerful influence over public opinion.

In the course of this history I have had frequent opportunities of speaking of this extraordinary man, who played one of the most interesting parts in the drama of his times; and, as his labours have contributed to throw much light upon the facts in question, it may not perhaps be useless to resume a little earlier the thread of his history, and offer some account of him to my readers.

Born of a not ignoble origin, and endowed with wonderful genius and ability, he embraced the monastic life as one most likely to conduct

* "Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites quod in electione R. P. juxta Sanct. Patrum canonicas sanctione regibus, penitus nihil est concessum sive permissum."— *C. Baron. Ann. Eccl.*

him to celebrity. He began by writing small tracts of devotion, collecting followers, and protecting in a peculiar manner the worship of the Virgin. There was no text nor metaphor in the holy writings, however abstruse, obscure, or difficult, which he did not interpret in his own peculiar mode, and from which he failed not to extract some praise to the Virgin. Having thus attained the highest ecclesiastical dignities, such as the bishopric of Ostia, and the cardinalship, he was employed on missions of the highest importance; and was the next amongst the Roman clergy in influence to Hildebrand. When Gregory VI. was compelled by the council of Sutri to go into exile, Damianus sorely offended Hildebrand by declaring himself on the imperial side; but, a reconciliation taking place after the return of Leo IX., they swore together to raise the throne of St. Peter to the greatest earthly power. Damianus, having fulfilled his embassy to Milan, lost, on his return to Rome, the favour of Nicholas II., without knowing the cause, and was deprived of his rich prebends and dignities. He retired from Rome, and went to Gubbio; because he was still administrator of that church. From thence he visited his monks, who were scattered over various parts of Romagna, and began to write letters of exculpation and humiliation to Hildebrand, who remained inexorable. On the death of Nicholas, the election of Alexander being supported by the archdeacon, Damianus was favourable to him and bitterly opposed to Cadolaus, against whom he

was so violent in his letters as to predict his death within a given time. The prediction not being verified, he defended himself against the mockery of his enemies by saying, that he did not allude to the temporal but spiritual death of his enemy. These subterfuges are common enough to those who dispose at their caprice of the invisible decrees of Heaven.* Although, by the intervention of his kind offices, the original displeasure of Hildebrand against Damianus had been allayed, his natural implacability was too great to allow of his being restored to his primitive friendship. Accordingly, he stripped him of all the dues of his bishopric, leaving him only the simple name of bishop and cardinal. The poor monk, who perhaps was conscious of his own guilt, wrote verses of adulation and eulogy to his powerful enemy, extolling him above the pope himself; yet, in these verses, the littleness of his soul occasionally broke out, and betrayed the consciousness of some secret power over his rival. At length, Pope Alexander having robbed him of the MS. Gomorreno whilst he was asleep, Damianus complained loudly, and demanded its restitution with the most pressing violence. The MS. however was withheld on the pretext of its obscenity, although composed for the purpose of religious admonition. Having ultimately lost all patience, Damianus wrote a violent and indignant

* The following were the lines: —

"Fumea vita volat, mors improvisa propinquat.
Imminet expleti, præpes tibi terminus ævi,
Non ego te fallor, capto morieris in anno."

letter against his two powerful enemies, to whom he gave the epithet of Virga Assur. In this he accused Hildebrand of the tyranny of a Nero, under the appearance of honied meekness; and, compelling him forcibly to accept his renunciation of the rank of cardinal, he tranquilly retired to his monastery.* Unquestionably Damianus preserved some great secret in his bosom injurious to the interests of Hildebrand; and that he never gave vent to it, even in his most fiery transports, must be attributed to the attachment which he bore his monks, whose interests by its developement would have been equally compromised. He preferred public good to the gratification of private revenge, and so far challenges our respect and admiration.

The pope, accompanied by Hildebrand, now
1064. repaired to the council, which was sitting at Mantua, and at which Cadolaus was also summoned to appear. He, however, confident of the superior force and ascendancy of his oppo-

* Petrus Damianus de Papa et Ildebrando: —
" Papam rite colo, sed te prostatus adoro;
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ipse Deum.
De Ildebrando parvæ staturæ sed magnæ prudentiæ viro,
Parva tigris missas æquat properando sagittas —
Vile quidem ferrum, sed quod domat nunc metallum
Sed trahit hoc validus, seu post vestigia magnes,
Hunc qui cuncta domat Sysiphi mensura coarctat,
Quemque tremunt multi nolens mihi subditus uni.
Vivere vis Romæ clara depromita voce,
Plus domino papæ quam damno pareo papæ,
Qui rabiem tigrum domat ora cruenta Leonem;
Te nunc usque lupum mihi mitem vertat in agnum!"

nent, was afraid of entering a hostile city, where the validity of Alexander's election, already decidedly approved, would be discussed only as a matter of form. The pope having cleared himself, by taking the usual oath, from the charge of simony, Cadolaus was excommunicated by the assembly, and declared the real antipope.

Confirmation of Pope Alexander.

The loss of the acts of this council is much to be regretted, since they would have shed much light over the obscure cabals and intrigues of this period; but pontifical policy, always looking to its own future interests, would not permit such dishonourable records to descend to posterity, the attainment at some distant period of what neither force nor cunning could ensure at present being the object of all its efforts. The crafty leaders of religion invented new documents to establish their rectitude and justice, and substituted them in the place of the original ones. Thus we find it written in the Annals of Baronius that some manuscripts of the Vatican library admit that Cadolaus was confounded, and that, being converted after this council, he died suddenly*; whilst the historian Lambertus asserts directly the reverse, and assures us that Cadolaus persisted in his enterprise as long as he lived, and was always regarded as pontiff by a great portion of his followers, — amongst whom not the least conspicuous was the Archbishop of Ravenna, a man of singular ability and ambition.

* Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis in Chron. Arnulf. Hist. Milan. lib. iii. cap. xix. Rer. Ital. tom. iv. p. 32.

On the close of the council in 1067, Pope Alexander sent Ugo, Cardinal of Silva-Candida, who had recovered his favour, in company with the Spanish legates to Barcelona, with the view of making these people adopt the rites of the church of Rome. He himself went to Milan, his native place, to reconcile its citizens to their archbishop and clergy, with whom they had long been at variance. I have elsewhere observed, that the story of Milan at this period is so interesting, that it is impossible to give a clear idea of it by incidental reference in this narrative, and therefore refer the reader to those authors who have made it their particular study; but, considering that Hildebrand represented his party there, I think it right to make some allusion to that part of it which relates to the conduct of my hero.

Tumults in Milan.

The Milanese clergy were accused of simony and concubinage. Being cleared from the former according to all the requisite formalities, the second point was investigated; and an attempt made to separate the priests from their lawful wives, who were denominated concubines. The Archbishop Guido, although not married, defended his clergy; and endeavoured, with all his power, to prove the marriage of priests to be just and lawful.* A certain Arioldus, however,

* Dr. Mosheim, in his "Ecclesiastical History," depicts in the blackest colours the manners of the clergy of this period. As to simony, he says that bishoprics and abbeys were sold by the princes like allodial lands, and that they were hereditary; and as to concubinage, that the priests capriciously

deacon of the church of Milan, being excited by the monks and flatterers of Hildebrand, began to inflame the people, by pointing out the corrupt state of the church, and its speedy dissolution. He said, that the evil manners of the clergy were the cause of the miseries and calamities of the times; and that the religion of Christ was at an end. These representations, supported by a certain priest, Lundulfus, and by Erlembaldus, valvassour of the archbishop, — who, on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, had collected all the requisites to put himself at the head of a party, — caused the people to revolt, and commit innumerable excesses. Arioldus, perceiving that his influence would be unavailing against the Archbishop Guido, his benefactor, went to Rome, and accused him in that court as guilty of some excesses; on which account Alexander II. excommunicated him. The deacon returning to Milan, and promulgating his censures, a great tumult arose on the day of Pen-

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abandoned their ladies, and kept more than one at a time. These two assertions, in my opinion, are too bold; because isolated facts do not establish a general rule. If a miracle were necessary to declare the Bishop of Florence a simonist, he could not have contracted with any one for the purchase of his see. Neither the letters of Gregory VII., nor contemporary historians of higher authority, state that the priests had more than one wife at the same time. Dr. Mosheim was certainly seduced by the current of Roman Catholic writers, who, in order to legalise the usurpations of their church, studied to represent the clergy of the eleventh century in the worst stage of dissoluteness and corruption.

tecost; and as the archbishop went to church the people took up arms, dispersed the clergy, and, after well-nigh beating the archbishop to death, proceeded to sack his palace. The adherents of the clergy, coalescing with the nobility of Milan, then attacked the populace, dispersed it, and persecuted the infatuated Arioldus to death. Having fled to the house of a priest, he was discovered, taken, bound, and conveyed to the Lago Maggiore, where he was cruelly deprived of life; and the usual number of miracles and prodigies were supplied in honour of his fate.

Matters were in this state when Alexander and the archdeacon arrived at Milan, and prepared with all their forces to re-animate the party of the discomfited people, and invigorate the arms of their fanatical parasites. The result of these measures, however, being trivial, they departed, leaving legates in the city, occupied in forming constitutions against the married priests. Erlembaldus Cotta, assisted by the arms of Hildebrand, and assembling a small army under his command, in a short time renewed the war against the Archbishop Guido. Hildebrand was not ashamed to send the standard of St. Peter to this freebooter rather than chief, declaring him thus to be the defender of the rights of the Romans, and the soldier of St. Peter. Whatever priests or vassals of the archbishop fell into his hands were put to death. The clergy, thus vexed and vilified, resolved either to abandon their wives, and conform to the will of their persecutors; or quit the altar and remain with

their families. Many followed the latter course, thus creating a great vacuum in the service of the church; which was suddenly filled up by incompetent persons of vile extraction, who embraced this state in order to secure a less wretched existence than their ordinary fate had destined for them. The ecclesiastical class became daily more ignorant and corrupt, and the unhappy prey of some vile impostor. The morals of Italy consequently degenerated; and with them the population diminished and tyranny increased. The Archbishop Guido was himself obliged to renounce his dignity in favour of the Sub-deacon Godfrey, an ordinary metropolitan canon, who, having sent the ring and crozier to Henry in Germany, in 1069, was immediately approved of by the emperor. In the mean time Hildebrand, who had called his champion Erlembaldus to Rome, to consult with him on the mode of appointing a successor to the archbishop who should acknowledge his promotion by the Holy See, having heard of this intelligence, returned hastily to Milan, and began to call popular assemblies, and show them the invalidity of the new archbishop's exaltation, which was good for nothing unless it emanated from Rome; although the clergy of Milan had always been independent of every other, and had contested for nearly two hundred years the supremacy of Italy with the pope and the Archbishop of Ravenna.* Hildebrand from Rome thundered out

1069. Godfrey elected Archbishop of Milan.

* Arnulfus, Hist. Med. "Qui cum abolito veteri novum tentaret inducere constitutum, palam fatebatur; haud secus

terrible excommunications against the new elect; whom the people, swayed by superstition and caprice, would not acknowledge as the archbishop, and whose communion they avoided as that of an anathematised person. It was commonly reported that he had purchased his dignity by assigning an annuity to the old archbishop, Guido.

Godfrey at length, overcome by seditious arts and by bribes distributed to the multitude by Erlembaldus, retired to his country residence, and divested himself of his office. Guido then, at the instigation of the same Erlembaldus, presented himself anew to occupy his ancient seat: but the people, disgusted with his unseasonable
1071. ambition, persecuted him to death.

To retrace, however, the footsteps of the joyous Pope Alexander and his beloved archdeacon. —The first left Milan for Lucca, there to avail himself of the pleasures which his sublime station could procure him: the second, constantly intent on the promotion of his power, continued the war against the followers of Cadolaus, and gave them no repose till they were entirely subdued; and whilst he kept the Normans in check by the arms of Duke Godfrey, he watched with a jealous eye the movements of Henry, — sent legates into Norway and Denmark, — gave the

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sedari posse Mediolanum quam canonicum habendo pastorem ad quem eligendum necessarium fore decebat Romanum consensum. His instructus assertionibus Erlembaldus. Mediolanum veniens quæ audierat festinanter exequitur," &c.

kings of Bohemia the right to wear the mitre, and continually formed new projects of conquest and usurpation. Being informed that the succession of Edward the Confessor, King of England, was about to fail, he intrigued with William, Duke of Normandy, and entered into a treaty with him to attempt the conquest of that kingdom. The fact which I am now about to relate is too obvious to every well informed Englishman for me to dilate upon; and I shall only say that, in 1066, Pope Alexander and Cardinal Hildebrand sent the banner of St. Peter to Duke William. This ceremony conveyed along with it the investiture of the kingdom which he was about to conquer, and the distinction of being a soldier of Christ; and it was also accompanied by endless benedictions and absolution of sins,—gifts of infinite value in these times of ignorance, in relation to the credulity of the soldiers who fought under a standard which sanctified the enterprise.* After the successful issue of the battle of Hastings, Duke William sent a portion of his spoils to Rome as a present to Pope Alexander, and amongst them the standard of

William, Duke of Normandy, receives the banner of St. Peter, and conquers England.

* Dr. Lingard is incorrect in surmising, in his "History of England," that the gift of the standard of St. Peter was merely an act of reciprocal politeness on the part of the pontiff. "To strengthen these impressions, the duke had sent an embassy to Pope Alexander II., from whom he had received a consecrated banner. This might be no more than a return of politeness on the part of the pontiff; but to the troops it was represented as the sanction of their intended expedition by the head of their church."—*Lingard, Hist. of England*, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 443.

Harold, which, being embroidered in silk and gold, represented, according to William of Malmsbury, a hero in the act of fighting. Hildebrand loudly applauded the feats of the Conqueror, and endeavoured to resuscitate the rites of the Romish church over England. Cardinal Baronius, in his Annals, quotes a fragment of a letter written by Alexander to William, in which he says, "Your prudence knows that the kingdom of the Angli, from the time when it was enlightened by the knowledge of Christ, was under the arm and protection of the prince of the apostles, until some evil-disposed members, treading in the footsteps of their father, Satan, broke the covenant of God, and seduced the English people from the path of truth. Moreover (as thou also knowest), whilst the English were faithful, out of respect to pious devotion, they offered the apostolical see an annual pension; part of which belonged to the Roman pontiff, and another to the church of St. Maria, which is called the school of the English."

This letter demonstrates sufficiently that before the conquest England was entirely independent of Rome; and that the object of the popes was to amass wealth, by laying every country under contribution. From this circumstance the custom had long prevailed of every nation having a church in Rome for the use of its own pilgrims; which churches were afterwards converted into colleges and places of public instruction.

The devastations of William to secure the

conquest of his new kingdom are sufficiently attested. His iron hand weighed heavily on the clergy, whom he first annihilated, and then restored. Legates sent from Rome deposed curates, abbots, bishops, and archbishops, under the vain pretext of their not being legally ordained; and substituted in their place a new clergy entirely devoted to the cause of the Conqueror. Amongst the new prelates was the celebrated Lanfranc, the Abbot of St. Stephen at Caen, who was elevated to the see of Canterbury. That which Hildebrand tried to destroy in Italy and Germany he endeavoured to protect in England, where it acted in a directly contrary manner.* By what right did Rome and the Conqueror in England depose abbots and bishops grown grey in the service of the church, and worn out with toil, and strip them of their treasures, and dignity, and honour, and finally of their lives? By what authority, under the cloak of religion, were such excesses committed, unless it were at the suggestion of policy to preserve by injustice what had been won by slaughter? It is better to draw a veil over such melancholy scenes. Although Hildebrand had a mind insensible to pity or remorse, we may perhaps observe, in an attentive perusal of his letters of reproof to William, some symptoms of repentance and regret. In some of them he says distinctly, that he was obliged to experience rebuke from his courtiers and friends, which he endured patiently for the love he bore

* V. Odericus, lib. v., Rogerus, et Dr. Lingard.

them. We shall report some of these letters in their proper place. On the other side, Lanfranc, profiting from the subversion of the ancient system, planted the new one on its ruins, elevating his church above all others, and making his own novel doctrine of transubstantiation triumph over the ancient faith of the spiritual, and not the corporeal, presence of Christ in the eucharist.

Damianus sent into Germany.

While these proceedings were being carried on in England, Hildebrand sent legates into Denmark to hold a general council of that province; and despatched Damianus, now stricken in years and a valetudinarian, into Germany, to dissuade the young Henry from the unreasonable divorce which he was contemplating. He had married, in 1067, Bertha, the daughter of Odo and the celebrated Adelaide, Marchioness of Suza, whom, after four years of unsatisfactory and sterile matrimony, he was now anxious to divorce. A council was assembled at Mayence to examine into the affair, although historians do not allude to the cause of the emperor's disgust; and the bishops were already predisposed to pronounce judgment in favour of the king, when Damianus made his appearance and changed their opinion. He reproved the bishops for wishing to untie a legitimate knot without any apparent reason, and compelled Henry to withdraw his suit. Damianus immediately reported to the pope the success of his mission, and boasted of it with the greatest triumph. Unquestionably, the motives of Henry in suing for a divorce were frivolous

enough; but Hildebrand, having once surmounted this trivial difficulty, availed himself of it to lay the foundation of a greater advantage in establishing the indissoluble nature of matrimony under any offence.*

From Germany Damianus this year wrote a second letter to Alexander, reproaching him with having disturbed the church of Gubbio, of which he was for many years the economist; and reminding him of all the services which he had rendered to the church of Rome, which had always been repaid with ingratitude. He finally recommended him to forgive all his adversaries, who were now every where overcome, and to take compassion on the numberless wretches who were the victims of their own aberration. Above all, he pointed out the Archbishop of Ravenna, whom he entreated the pope to restore to his favour, and to absolve from censure. These compassionate movements on the part of the monk were useless; and Hildebrand continued the career of victory which his fiery inclinations pointed out. The Archbishop of Ravenna died in 1072, under the severest excommunications. Damianus, who on his return from Germany had retired amongst his monks, was again brought upon the scene, and sent to Ravenna to appease that diocese, and absolve the people from the excommunications thundered against their pastor. Proceeding thither immediately, and executing his

* Lamb. Schaffn. in Chron. "Nullum in crimen quo juste repudium mereatur, afferre, sed se (incestum quo fato, quo Dei judicio) nullum cum ea martialis operis copiam habere."

mission with success, he fell ill, and died in 1072, aged 83 years.* From the ambitious and devout labours of this extraordinary man, his character would seem to have been a compound of ferocity, fanaticism, and religious virtue; it must be admitted that he was endued with great piety; and, although sometimes he might have been carried away by party violence, he not unfrequently advocated the moderate side, and endeavoured to mitigate the ferocity and cruelty of Hildebrand. In the ebullition of his youth, indeed, he was far

* There is a dispute as to the period of this saint's decease; Ciacconius makes him live to the age of 120 years. The author of the life of St. Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, makes him present at the death of Anselm himself, calling him Abbot of Nolantola; and the death of Anselm took place in 1086. But Baronius and Muratori, on the faith of Bertoldus of Constance, make him die in the year 1072. Muratori thus describes his character:—"Debbo ora aggiugnere che manco in lui un gran lume ed ornamento della Christianita, mercè della scienza, e del raro zelo, che in tutte le azioni sue si osservò, e tuttavia si osserva nei suoi libri, vivi testimoni ancora di un felicissimo e piissimo ingegno, nei quali solamente si può desiderare più parsimonia nelle allegorie; e più cautela in credere e spacciar tante visione e miracoli, alcuni dei quali possono anchè far dubbitar Dei veri." He also remarks, that Damianus is one of the heroes in the Paradise of Dante; which reflection suggests to me the idea that the Italian poet had read a greater number of works of Damianus, in which his differences with Hildebrand might have been described, as well as his opposition to the Roman court at the close of his life. His works now extant were collated for the various libraries of Italy by monks, and are not entirely exempt from suspicion; and I know that in the Chigi library, at Rome, many unedited MSS. still exist.

Baron. Ann. Eccl. ann. 1072; et Muratori, Ann. d' Ital. ann. 1072.

from entertaining such moderate sentiments; and the letter which he wrote to the Bishop of Turin reproving him for his toleration of married priests, and another to the Marchioness of Suza, exciting her in the place of the bishop to persecute them with fire and sword, clearly prove that his disposition was not less ferocious than that of other monks.* His life was not happy. The haughty Hildebrand, who was jealous of his influence and learning, was his constant opponent, and constrained him at last to lay aside his ecclesiastical dignities for the sake of some repose. The violent spirit of a superstitious religion also made him carry his reforms and new institutions to excess, and to violate other men's consciences for the purpose of establishing them. The works which he has left behind him are of various kinds, and contain a prodigious quantity of strange and singular ideas, which might occupy the attention of the critic. An unfaithful historian, a vile parasite, a credulous and superstitious panegyrist, an erroneous theologian, pedantic, and full of bombast, he united these vicious qualities with an extent of learning which was miraculous in his age, with an eloquence by no means common, and an extraordinary elevation of mind. His works deserve the esteem and admiration of every lover of similar productions in an age of similar barbarity and crime.

To return to the pope and Hildebrand. — In

* S. Pet. Dam. Opera.

the year 1069 some German bishops, such as those of Bamberga and Mayence, being cited as guilty of simony, arrived in Rome. The trial was short: they all swore to their innocence, made a present to the judges, and were absolved.* Their money was very acceptable to Pope Alexander, for whom it procured comforts and pleasures in abundance. He left the care of working miracles to Hildebrand, and of relating them afterwards to the ignorant multitude, who were in ecstasies at them, and put as much faith in them as in the saints and prophets. Then as to their works, at the intercession of a saint they would liberate a guilty soul from hell, raise up the dead, or put men to death for withholding their belief. I will not, however, dilate further on these absurdities, but proceed to the developement of the interesting drama which it is the object of these pages to unfold.

Departure from Rome of Archbishop Annone.

At length Archbishop Annone departed from Rome, laden with relics and benedictions, which were given to him in exchange for the rich gifts which he had brought to the pope and his principal courtiers. He obtained all the privileges and immunities which he required, and might reckon himself pope of Germany. Hildebrand was as prodigal and generous towards his friends as he was severe and cruel to his enemies; and spared neither toil, nor flattery, nor money, to win over those whose favour he desired. Thus, with the friendship and support of so powerful a

* V. Lambertus in Chr.

bishop in Germany, he entertained little apprehension from that quarter of being disturbed in his enterprises, and was at perfect liberty to turn his attention to points where he thought it was more requisite. On this account he attentively watched the movements of William and Lanfranc, in order to derive some safe advantage from the new conquest, and governed the latter, who was alternately humble and restless; and who, after having secured his supremacy over the English clergy, by putting all his adversaries to death, pretended that Hildebrand had sent him the pallium from Rome, and released him from going to receive it in person, according to ancient custom.* Hildebrand, who, on the contrary, insisted that all the bishops of Christendom should pay the tribute of their subjection to St. Peter in person, sent him a refusal, in a kind letter, and invited him to comply with the practice of his predecessors.†

Nor did any thing escape the attentive vigilance of Hildebrand. The church had been neglected and falling into ruins since the year 1000, about which period the end of the world was expected; and, in order to acquire new

* V. Lettere di Lanfranc et Papa Alex. II.

† I do not understand why Dr. Lingard lays the death of this prelate in the year 1070. He seems to have forgotten that he survived William the Conqueror; and Baronius and Muratori both speak of him as being alive in subsequent years. "He, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, died May 28. 1089, having survived his royal friend and patron, William the Conqueror, about one year and eight months." — *Dr. Henry*, vol. v. cent. xi. p. 279.

credit for his zeal with the credulous people, he began to build new, and to repair and beautify the ancient churches. He caused the gates of bronze which decorate the church of St. Paul without the walls, of which he was titular abbot, to be cast at Constantinople.* The artist was a certain Pantaleone, whose name, before the fire in 1823 destroyed both them and the whole church, might be read engraven upon them.† At the same period, Pope Alexander constructed his favourite cathedral at Lucca; and Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, had built another for the use of his monastery. The latter brought from Constantinople artists of every class; with whom, perhaps, originated that new style of building, different from the Greek and ancient Roman, and which is now improperly denominated Gothic. Scarcely was the building complete before Alexander went to consecrate it, according to the customs and ceremonies of the Gentiles, accompanied by forty bishops, ten archbishops, and many other lords and abbots, with their respective courtiers and attendants. The concourse of neighbouring people was immense; and the fêtes given on the occasion were magnificent. Neither expense nor trouble

October 10. 1071.

* O. Leoni Ostiense, lib. iii. cap. xxx.

† Desiderius, in his Dialogues, says, "Anno 1070 ab incarnatione Domini, temporibus Alexandri Papæ II. et Domini Hildebrandi venerabilis monachi et archi., instructæ sunt portæ istæ regia urbe Constant., adjuvante Domine Pantaleone consule, qui illas fieri jussit." The artist's name was likewise Pantaleone.

were spared; and the abbot, Desiderius, opened the path to still higher dignities. The pope and Hildebrand wrought also on this occasion many miracles, the credit of which depends, not on evidence, but upon the faith and piety of posterity.

The consecration being terminated, the pope travelled for amusement along the confines of the kingdom of Naples; and Hildebrand marched with all the troops he could collect, and those of the Countess Matilda, against the Normans*, who made no great opposition (having learned from experience the bravery of the archdeacon and his men); and were obliged to renew the treaties, and restore to the Holy See all the territories which they had usurped. As I have mentioned the Countess Matilda, it may be well to indicate the origin of this personage, who will form one of the most conspicuous figures in the sequel of this history.

Hildebrand marches against the Normans.

Godfrey, surnamed the Great (that duke whom we have seen favouring so strongly the party of Hildebrand), having repaired to Lorena, shortly after the council of Mantua, sickened, and died in 1070.† Beatrice, his consort, for the second time a widow, had no children but Matilda, the offspring of her first marriage, and heir to all the rich estates of Duke Boniface, with acquisitions recently made by Godfrey. These two ladies at

Origin of the Countess Matilda.

* V. Platina, Vita d' Alessandro II.

† Muratori, in his Annals, reconciles the controversies of historians as to the death of Godfrey, called also Il Barbato, and places it in the year 1070.

the head of this powerful state threw themselves into the arms of Hildebrand, who managed their affairs at his caprice. Matilda, having arrived at an age to marry, was affianced to Godfrey, surnamed Gobbo, the son of the deceased Godfrey by his first wife, and who had inherited Lorena from his father. This curious, although legitimate, union was ill adapted to the taste of Hildebrand, who had had the care of Matilda's education, and governed her weak mother; for he perceived in the young duke an active and penetrating genius, and a disposition unfavourable to the monks. He accordingly took his measures in good time; and, having assured himself of the disposition of the two princesses, he endeavoured, by every means in his power, to counteract the effects which he anticipated from this marriage.*

The Countess Matilda marries Godfrey, surnamed Gobbo, in 1072.

* In the Chronological History of Italy, by St. Marc, the life of the Countess Matilda is given in nearly the following terms: — "Matilda, the third daughter of the Marquess Boniface and the Duchess Beatrice, was born, according to Donizzone, in 1046; was first betrothed to Godfrey, surnamed Gobbo, son of Duke Godfrey il Barbato, who became the second husband of her mother Beatrice. In the year 1055, by the death of her brother the Duke and Marquess Frederic, Matilda became the sole heir of her parents; and reigned for some time, in conjunction with her mother and the duke her uncle, till the year 1063, when she was married to Godfrey il Gobbo. From that time she reigned with her mother, uncle, and husband till the year 1069, when Duke Godfrey died; and with her mother till February, 1076, when she became a widow; in which state she continued to reign till April of the same year, when her mother died. She reigned alone till 1089, in which year Pope Urban II. engaged her to marry again with Guelph IV., Duke of Bavaria. Having been separated from this cruel husband, she died in 1115,

From his ascendancy over them he obtained the supreme command of the troops of Beatrice and Matilda, whom he led against the Normans in the kingdom of Naples; and, having checked those powerful adventurers, he returned to Rome in company with the pope, to receive Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in conformity with his instructions, was come to receive the pallium, and decide the question of his primacy with the other English bishops who disputed it. This ambitious prelate was received by the pope and his archdeacon in the capital of Christendom with all possible honours. He was invested with a double pallium; obtained the deposition of his adversaries, and the appointment of pontifical legate in England; where, on his return to his diocese, he assembled councils, deposed or re-established bishops and abbots, and subjected every thing to the judgment and despotism of his church. He prevented William from removing monks from the cathedral churches in which they had been bred; and established obedience to the pontiff among a people who regarded him with respect, but never submitted to his dominion.* Thus Hildebrand proceeded, surmounting every difficulty, and opening a path to the throne and the dominion of all Italy. By the

Lanfranc goes to Rome to receive the pallium.

bequeathing all her states to the church. This bequest was the source of endless disputes and wars in Italy: but she obtained by it the title of Virgin, after having had two lawful husbands.

* V. C. Baronius, Ann. Eccl. ad hunc.

intervention of Erlembaldus, he had succeeded in nominating a new Archbishop of Milan to his taste, and under his protection and approbation; and although this choice fell on an inexperienced and ignorant young man, who was soon obliged by the opposite party to renounce his charge, yet this bold proceeding gave Hildebrand an opportunity of exercising his influence in the nomination of the archbishops of that city. What the Roman court once obtained, either by connivance or force, was yielded to it for ever.* It was by an inflexible adherence to this principle that its splendour and power were advanced.

Eribertus Archbis of Ravenna.

The favour which Hildebrand enjoyed with the two Tuscan princesses, and the fervour with which he loved them, urged him to grant the request which they made to him to nominate Guibert, chancellor of King Henry in Italy, as Archbishop of Ravenna. This ambitious and crafty man was well known to Hildebrand, who with great reluctance consented to his appointment at the desire of the pious princesses; but his too susceptible heart betrayed him on this occasion into political errors unpardonable in such a man. Nor was it the only one into which he fell from similar causes. We shall have occasion to observe another infirmity more serious, and productive of worse consequences. This susceptibility was, perhaps, the only blemish in the commerce of Hildebrand with mankind.

The young Henry, finally released from the

* V. Arnulfo, Storia di Milano, lib. iii. cap. 33.

ecclesiastical bondage in which his enemies had held him, began to act upon his own responsibility. He treated with disrespect the decrees and censures of Rome, and developed his natural disposition as a despotic sovereign. But his enemies watched him closely. By times they discovered his perverse inclinations; and the princes of Saxony accused him to Rome, taxing him with vexations and tyranny. Hildebrand listened with transport to these accusations, and prevailed on the pope to write threatening letters to the king, in which it was intimated to him that he must repair to Rome to clear himself from these charges. The inexperienced monarch was furious at this audacious proceeding; and wreaking his vengeance on Annone, Bishop of Cologne, he instantly shook off his yoke, and in revenge, having assembled a council, compelled the churches of Thuringia and Saxony to yield to him one half of the ecclesiastical tythes. Nor would he acknowledge as Bishop of Lucca, Anselmo, who had been elected by his uncle, Pope Alexander; besides which, he took many other steps without mature reflection and advice, which had the effect of alienating from him the affections of a powerful portion of his subjects and vassals. He would shortly, in all probability, have marched against Rome, had not his apprehension of a rebellion in Saxony, and the death of Pope Alexander, which were simultaneous, checked his fury, and given him an opportunity to reflect.* This holy

Death of Pope Alexander, 21st April, 1073.

* "Vocantes eum ad satis faciendum pro simoniaca hærisi,

personage died on the 21st of April, 1073, lamented by the good—not for his virtues, but on account of the storm that was gathering on the horizon of Italy, and which, had his life been spared, he might have been able to allay. His character bears the stamp of incapacity rather than error,—of an entire abandonment to pomp and pleasure, and a surrender of the cares of government to those who had bestowed it on him. The tempestuous season of his pontificate was to him one of tranquillity and repose; and, if he had not been a vile instrument in polluted hands, he might have been one of the few good popes, who, being raised to the throne of St. Peter by legitimate means, would have merited and obtained respect. The ecclesiastical historians, of course, extol him to the skies, although they do not attempt to canonise him; and Fiorentini, in his life of the Countess Matilda, calls him a pope of excellent conduct, who did much good to the church.* Thus did some writers, for the support of their own views, endeavour to impose upon their superficial readers. The time, perhaps, may not be very distant in which sound criticism, re-establishing its empire over

Character of Alexander.

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aliis nonnullis emendatione dignis, quæ de ipso Romæ fuerant audita."—V. Abbas. Uspergensis in Chron., Marianus Scotus Chron., Donizzon, et alii.

* This author says,—"Proibi il matrimonii tra i congiunti in parentela fino al 7°. grado, che in sacerdote non potessero fare piu di un sagrifizio al giorno; ordinò che le censure fulminate dai Vescovi scommunicati fossero nulle, e cose simile."

the degenerate sons of Italy, may banish from the republic of letters those works which bear the stamp of falsehood and prejudice; and Philosophy, extending her authority over ecclesiastical history, may present these heroes of Christendom in their true colours.

Prospectus of the policy of the monks of Hildebrand when he was raised to the papacy.

From what has been already written, it will be perceived how great an influence and power the monkish congregations of every denomination had acquired; and how they defended the rights of the Roman court, which had released them from the yoke of the bishops. The bishoprics, the abbeys, and prebends were all at the disposal of the monks, good or bad, learned or ignorant, as they might be; and, if any secular priest wished for promotion, it was requisite for him to assume the cowl for a certain time, and conform to the monastic life. The Roman pontiff, sustained by their influence, was omnipotent; every monk being a faithful satellite, who traversed every region and city without suspicion of treachery. Paolo Sarpi has preceded me in this observation: "They considered (that is, the fathers of the church) that it had been the great secret of the Roman pontiffs from the oldest times to preserve the primacy given them by Christ, to separate the bishops from the archbishops, and thus to make every one bound to defend them. It is perfectly clear that, after the year 600, the primacy of the apostolic see was supported by the Benedictine monks, and by the congregations of Clugni, Certosa, and others, until God raised up the mendicant orders, by which it has

ever since been sustained till this day."* Hildebrand was, in fact, only an active instrument in the hands of the monks of that period, who aimed at universal dominion over the church and the whole world. With the miracles and daily visions which were opportunely scattered amongst the people, the imagination was excited, and the passions inflamed, to a degree which converted every abbot into a saint, and every monk into an inspired agent of God, through whom his oracles were manifested to the children of men. Thus the isolation of the priesthood from the great mass of society, which was rendered the blind tool of the will of its superiors, was effected: thus self-denominated simony was eradicated, in order to acquire a perfect independence of the secular authority; the doctrine of transubstantiation established; confession reduced to a minute detail; the worship of the saints and of the Madonna raised to the highest point of devotion; and the successor of St. Peter rendered the sole universal bishop, on whom depended all secular and ecclesiastical authority, and whose decisions were regarded as infallible oracles of the divine judgment.

But, although the foundations of this vast edifice were laid at the death of Alexander, its walls had not yet risen. It remained for Hildebrand when pope to complete the structure. It was for him, as the sequel will show, rising upon the spirit of the times, to place himself at the head of

* Storia del Concilio di Trento, lib. ii. p. 175.

the people, and proclaim its liberties against the nobles; to open the monasteries and colleges to the inexhaustible phalanx of the multitude, the monks being always more serviceable than slaves, —and to make the churches an asylum for malefactors.*

Among the various engines employed to establish this system of temporal supremacy, was the introduction of traditions in the place of scriptural truths; which they entirely undermined. By these traditions the truth of religion was to be attested; and the higher their antiquity the greater was their credit. Thus, for example, in our times have the Jesuits succeeded in introducing into the Roman church, by means of an absurd tradition, the worship of the heart of Jesus, which was severely contested about the middle of the last century; and from this again arose, not more than fifteen years ago, the worship of the "most precious blood," which has caused the establishment, in many of the pontifical states, of a new religious order, whose political object is the discovery and destruction of the Carbonari.

* "Sedis Apostolicæ nostro tempore talem Deus gubernâtorem, reverendæ, inquam, memoriæ Greg. Pont. (tunc Septi. scilicet), imposuit, qui sub decem suis antecessoribus a puero Romæ nutritus et eruditus, omnes Apostolicas traditiones diligentissime investigavit, et investigatas studiossime in actum referre curavit. Hunc ergo doctorem religione et auctoritate præcipuum imo apostolicam traditionem per ipsum in consecrandis misteriis potissimum imitari decrevimus, sicut nos, ipsi per ipsum et per episcopos, qui eum imitati sunt, accepimus."—*Lambertus Schaffnab.*

Worship of the Marian Month.

But the strangest worship introduced into the Roman Catholic church was that of the Marian Month, which consisted in singing some daily praises to the Virgin, and making a panegyric to her every day during the month of May. I know of no tradition from which this could originate but a Gentile one; some mythologists believing that the month of May was consecrated to the goddess Maia*, from whom it received its name. From the month of May they proceeded to consecrate June; and the stories of the Madonna della Rotonda and of St. Augustine in Rome demonstrate that the time of which I am treating returned, when a council was assembled to decide whether a particular worship should be paid to the statues and pictures of the Virgin and our Saviour.† Paoli Sarpi attributes to the traditions the power which the bishops and other dignitaries acquired in their churches. (F.) I do not desire to meddle with this delicate question; but, according to the source of this matter, we shall find that, as the ambition and emoluments of the church gradually increased, it became a prey to those disorders and vices which are the inseparable accompaniments of arbitrary power; the simplicity and disinterestedness of the primitive Christians wore out; states and principalities were invested by the emperors with feudal rights, and vassalages became confirmed. Thus bishops became dignitaries of the empire, commanded armies, and were invested with the

* Verrius Flaccus in the Fasti, or Foggini.

† V. Mosheim, cent. xi. p. iii.

ring and crosier, or token of their jurisprudence. With all his usurpations, Hildebrand had not yet despoiled the empire of this right of investiture; and, although he had nearly released the pope from imperial subjection, it yet remained for him to liberate the bishops and abbots. The pretext of simony was admirably suited to aid him in this work; and we we shall see hereafter how he employed it.

When lawful matrimony had been prohibited to the priests, the natural consequences, concubinage and adultery, followed*; and measures were obliged to be resorted to, to obviate the frequency of divorces. By compelling Henry to retain his wife, Hildebrand established as a maxim the illegality of divorce. He first began to diffuse this doctrine amongst his clergy in his letters to the bishops, and the church subsequently adopted it with transport; by which means a league was effected between the women and the monks, who thereby acquired an ascendancy in families. Unfaithful wives no longer fearing the just resentment of the law, the gentlest rights of religion became extended; and auricular confession was carried to the last degree of privacy and minuteness. Offences were distinguished into genus and species, the latter into

* St. Marc, in his Chronological Abridgment of the History of Italy, says that Leo IX. held a council, in which the decree was attributed to him by which the women convicted of prostitution with priests were condemned to be slaves for the service of the Lateran. A similar decree passed in other churches.

circumstances, circumstances into occasions, occasions into proximate and remote; and, every thing being reduced to calculation, the most fugitive thoughts, the most trivial expressions, the most insignificant actions were weighed in the balance, and became the serious occupation of bigots and devotees. By this mode a vast field was opened of the surest and most subtle policy; and the doctrine of confession was diffused with a celerity, and established with a solidity, in female hearts, perfectly miraculous. In proportion as they were more easily seduced, at any rate in thought, they ran with avidity after the means of purgation; and thus the inducements were magnified to violate confidence, to betray faith: wives became the accusers of their husbands, mothers of their sons, sisters of brothers; and, daily losing their natural and becoming modesty, by the announcement of matters against which delicate ears should be closed, they acquired an effrontery from which women of Protestant countries are still happily exempt. From this universal disorder, egotism, indifference, and selfishness arose; and a mortal blow was given to the finest precept of the evangelical law—that of charity, on which every social virtue depends.

To consolidate the above principles something else was still necessary. It was determined to attribute to the priests an eminent degree of angelical sanctity, to distinguish them from the vulgar. This was accomplished by the firm establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and granting to them alone the commu-

nion under both kinds. The priests, in time, abusing their prerogatives, sold absolution, promulgated indulgences at a fixed price, and diverted the people from the right path of true and primitive religion. Having acquired a double power—a union of mystical and material force, they assumed to themselves the decision of all causes, both civil and criminal; and attributed to the councils the important charge of deciding between peace and war,—not on the grounds of national and natural right, but on the interests of the party they defended. In the History of Sarpi there is a curious account of the origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which merits the attention of every reader. (G.) He says that, when the Roman pontiff arrogated the right of binding and unbinding, he left to the bishops that of feeding souls. "It was Hildebrand," says he, "who introduced this innovation into the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the weapons were furnished to him by the three most celebrated ladies of Italy since the fall of Rome; viz. the Empress Agnes, mother of Henry; Beatrice, and Matilda, Countesses of Tuscany.

On the death of Alexander every heart, corrupted by the bribes and beneficence of Hildebrand, palpitated at the thought of beholding him despotic master of St. Peter's throne; and yet was obliged to aid him in ascending it. The late sackages and slaughter had reduced the bishops to silence; and every magistrate and individual was constrained to obey him. His severity and obstinacy caused him to be feared;

his authority was respected by the troops which surrounded him; and the bishops and abbots, who were his friends, never left his side. Indefatigable in the execution of his designs, to-day he led his army to battle, and to-morrow presided at a council *; and woe to those who resisted his will or disobeyed his orders! His revenge was as inexorable as his anger; and, after the fashion of Augustus, he attended at the execution of those whose death he had decreed. His mind was so acute and penetrating, that he discovered the most secret thoughts of those with whom he conversed, and never was betrayed by those whom he had chosen as his friends. The very name of such a man was a resistless torrent, which carried every thing along with it into the ocean of his new and gigantic institutions.

* Dr. Mosheim says, that a new order of monks was created under his pontificate. (chap. xi. part iii.)

NOTES TO BOOK I.

A.

This little city of Soana, of Etruscan origin, according to Ughelli, in his "Italia Sacra," became in the year 980 an episcopal city; and its diocese was sixty miles in length and sixteen in breadth. According to others, it was Gregory VII. who made it a bishopric, in 1080. In the absence of official proof, it is difficult to reconcile these contradictory opinions, unless it be admitted that Gregory only enlarged it. Henry IV., passing by the Via Aurelia, in his expeditions to Rome, entirely destroyed it; and its inhabitants withdrew to Pitigliano, a distance of four miles. The republic of Orvieto had supreme dominion over Soana, and a great part of the "Maremma Sanese." After the death of Gregory VII., Soana and its territory fell under the authority of the Aldobrandese family, from which Gregory was descended, and which he had raised to the dignity of counts palatine. Such is the opinion of Manenti, Monaldeschi, Malevotti, and all other Sjennese historians. Even John Colonna, Martinus Polonus, the Abbot Uspergense, in his Chronicles, Beoridus, Machiavelli, and Carlus Sigonius, in the ninth chapter of his Kingdom of Italy, appear to be of the same opinion; so that it may be confidently asserted, that the Aldobrandese family owed its greatness to Gregory VII. It was always on the side of the Guelphs; and its dominion extended to the valley of Orica, Paglia, the Maremma Toscana, the Ammimai mountain, or Amiata, with the title of Counts of St.

Fiora. It sustained many wars with the republic of Sienna for the possession of the city of Grosseto; and had a territory of four thousand square miles. Dante, in his "Purgatory," alludes to Ombertus, Count of St. Fiora, son of William Aldobrandeseus, when he says,—

"Io fui Latino, nato d' un gran Tosco,
Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi fu mio padre;
Non so, se il nome suo giammai fu vosco
L' antico sangue, e l' opere leggiadre
De miei maggiori mi fer si arrogante
Che non pensando alla comun madre,
Ogni uomo ebbi in dispetto tanto avante
Ch' io ne morii, come e Sanesi sanno
E santo in Campagnatico ogni fante."

Purg. C. XI. v. 58.

Il Posttitafore del Codice Cactam thus speaks:—"Isti comites de S. Flora fuerunt multum potentes in maritima tenentium, et Ghibellini et tenentes paulatim destruxerunt eos. Unde, semel cum gens senens equitaret in Campagnaticum, Umbertus, iste indignatus stare intus inclusus, exivit cum quibusdam peditibus, et breviter fuit interfectus."

This family became extinct in the male line in the year 1430: and Eleonora, the only surviving daughter of Count Guido, was given in marriage to Bosius, brother of Francis Sforza, first Duke of Milan, by order of Martin V.; the country of Soana and Pitigliano being bestowed on the Orsini family.—V. Zozzera, Storia delle Famiglie Illustri d'Italia; Ratti, Storia della Famiglia Sforza, p. 1. 182.; and Il Manni, Osservazione sopra due Sigilli.

B.

In a book entitled "Defence of the Communion, and Office, and Catechism of the Church of England from the

Charge of favouring the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," by John Lewis, London, 1742, is the following passage:—

"By the procurement of Archbishop Parker, was printed 'A Sermon of the Paschal Lambe, and of the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour,' written in the old Saxon, or English tongue, before the Conquest; and appointed in the reign of the Saxons to be spoken unto the people at Easter, before they should receive the holy communion. This was printed in the old and modern English; and, to prevent the common charge of misrepresentation, was attested by the two archbishops and thirteen bishops, with divers other persons of honour and credity, to be truly put forth in print, without any adding or withdrawing any thing. This is a very considerable testimony of antiquity; as being an evidence, not only of the doctrine of the ancient English church, but also of that of the church of Rome, by whom the Saxon English were converted to the belief of the Christian faith.

"Thus the maker of this sermon expressed himself:—Christ blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, 'Eat this bread, it is my body, and do this in my remembrance: also he blessed wine in one cup, and said, Drink ye all of this; this is my blood, that is shed for many in forgiveness of sins.' The apostles did as Christ commanded; that is, they blessed bread and wine, to *husle* (to administer the sacrament of the eucharist) again afterward in his remembrance; even so also, since their departure, all priests by Christ's commandment to bless bread and wine, to husle in his name with the apostolick blessing. Now, men have oft searched, and do yet oft search, how bread that is gathered of corne, and through fier's heat baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or, how wine that is pressed out of many grapes, is turned through one blessing to the Lord's blood. Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of as concerning Christ, by or through signification; some things by a thing certain. True thing is and certain, that Christ was born

of a maid; and suffered death of his own accord; and was buried; and on this day rose from death. He is said, or called, bread by signification; and a lamb, and a lion, and mountain. He is called bread because he is our life, and angel's life; he is said to be a lamb for his innocence; a lion for strength, wherewith he overcomes the strong devil. But Christ was not so, notwithstanding, after true nature, neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion: why, then, is that holy hussell called Christ's body or his blood, if it be not truly that it is called? Truly, the bread and the wine, which through the mass of the priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to human understanding, and another thing they call within, to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and wine both in taste and figure; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through ghostly mystery. An heathen child is christened; yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font stone or vessel, sinful through Adam's disobedience. Howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font-water, that is called the well-spring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruptible but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water through the priest's blessing, and it may after wash the body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold, now, we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible water; and, after ghostly mystery, hath hallowing might. So, also, if we behold that holy hussell after bodily understanding, then see we that it is a creature mutable and corruptible: if we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then we understand that life is therein, and that it giveth immortalitie to them that eat with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy hussell, and the visible shape of its proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine; and is, by might of God's word, truly

Christ's body and his blood; not so, notwithstanding, bodily, but ghostly. Much is betwixt the body Christ suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to hussell. The body, truly, that Christ suffered in was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a living reasonable soul; and his ghostly body, which we call the hussell, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul; and, therefore, nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is to be understood ghostly. Whatsoever is in that hussell, which giveth substance of life, that is, of ghostly might, and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy hussell called a mystery; because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen hath bodily shape; and that we do there understand hath ghostly might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dieth henceforth; but is eternal, and unpossible, or not capable of suffering any more: that hussell is temporal, not eternal; corruptible, and dealed or divided into sundry parts, chewed between teeth, and sent into belly; howbeit nevertheless, after ghostly might it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body; and yet, notwithstanding, it is so all in every part after ghostly mystery, that though some chew lesse deal, others more, yet is there no more might notwithstanding, in the more part than in less, because it is all in all men after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically until that we be come to the truth itself, and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is so as we have before said, Christ's body and his blood, not bodily, but ghostly. And ye should not search how it is done, but hold it in your belief that it is so done." After some quotations from the lives of the fathers, he thus continues:—"But now hear the apostle's words about this mystery or sacrament. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old Israelites thus, writing in his epistle to faithful men:—All our forefathers were baptized

in the cloud and in the sea: and all they ate the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ. Neither was that stone then, from which the water ranne, bodily Christ; but it signified Christ that calleth thus to all believing and faithful men. Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink; and from his bowels floweth lyvely water: this he said of the Holy Ghost, whom he receiveth who believeth on him. The apostle Paul saith, that the Israelites did eat the same ghostly meat, and drink the same ghostly drink; because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which did flow from the stone, had signification of Christ's body and his blood, that now be offered daily in God's church; it was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly. We said unto you erewhile, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to hussell before his suffering, and said, This is my body and blood: yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible might, that bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was born to men, when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood. Very many ate of that heavenly meat (manna) in the wilderness, and drank that ghostly drink, and were nevertheless dead as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death which some of that folks deserved for their unbelief. Moses and Aaron, and many other of that people who pleased God, eat that heavenly bread; and they died not that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible; and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life. And he bade them not eat that body which he was going about with, nor that blood to drink, which he shed for us, &c.; but he meant with those words that holy hussell which

ghostly is his body and his blood: and he who tasteth it with a believing heart hath that eternal life. In the old law, faithful men offered to God living sacrifices that had part signification of Christ's body; which for our sins he himself to his heavenly Father hath since offered to sacrifice. Certainly this hussell, which we do now hallow at God's altar, is a remembrance of Christ's body which he offered for us, and of his blood which he shed for us: so he himself commanded, Do this in my remembrance. Once suffered Christ by himself; but yet, nevertheless, his suffering is daily renewed at the mass through mystery of the holy hussell. Therefore that holy mass is profitable both to the living and to the dead, as it hath often been declared. We ought also to consider diligently, how that this holy hussell, or eucharist, is both Christ's body, and the body of all faithful men after ghostly mystery. As the wise Augustine saith of it: If ye will understand of Christ's body, hear the apostle Paul thus speaking, Ye truly be Christ's body and his members. Now is your mystery set on God's table, and ye receive your mystery, which mystery be ye yourselves. Be that which ye see on the altar, and receive that which ye yourselves be. Again the apostle Paul saith of it, We many be one bread and one body. Understand now and rejoice, many be one bread, and one body in Christ, &c. He is our Head, and we his limbs; and the bread is not of one corn, but of many, nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So also we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful army, now that they were in so great an unity, as though all of them were one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed on his table the mystery of our peace, and of our unity: he who receiveth that mystery of unity, and keepeth not the bond of true peace, he receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for Christian men that they go often to hussell: if they bring with them to that altar unguiltiness and innocence of life. To an evil man it turneth

to no good, but to destruction, if he receiveth unworthily that holy hussell."

To show that the doctrines above taught of the holy sacrament were the received doctrines of the church of England, not only during the time of the early Saxon dynasties, but under the subsequent dynasties of the Norman and English kings, the following prayer is copied from an old English pontifical, used long before the Reformation. On receiving the bread or wafer, the communicants use this prayer:—"We pray Thee, with the devotion of supplicants, that whosoever shall receive with their mouths the consecrated bread from this patin may, with their hearts, desire and receive Thee, the true living bread, and deserve to receive everlasting benediction through Thee, O Lord Jesu Christ. Grant that whosoever shall drink out of this cup, with a clean heart, the sacramental memory of thy blood may," &c. &c.*

The MS. pontifical, whence the above is taken, existed in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge.

C.

Father Paul Sarpi, in his History of the Council of Trent, treating this subject incidentally, thus expresses himself:—

"Dopo che l' impieta di Nestorio divise Christo facendone due figli e negando che il generato dalla beata Virgine fosse Dio; la chiesa per inculcar nella mente dei fideli la verita Catholica, introdusse di replicarla frequentissimamente nelle chiese cosi d' Oriente come d' Occidente,—in Greco, Maria Theotocos; in Latino, Maria Dei,—il che istituto in amore di Christo, solamente, piano, piano, si communicò anche alla madre e finalmente fu ridotta a lei sola; e per la stessa causa quando furono

* V. Soames's Bampton Lectures.

frequentate le immagini, si dipinse Christo fanciullo in braccie della Virgine, per rammemorare la venerazione a lui dovuta anche à quell' etá. Passó non dimeno in progresso in venerazione della madre senza il figlio; restando egli nella pittura come appendice. Gli scrittori e predicatori massime contemplativi tratti dal torrente del Volgo che molto puó in queste materie, tralasciato di parlare di Christo, a concorrenza inventarono nuovi lodi, epitteti e servizi religiosi; tanto che circa il 1050 fu anche instituito in servizio quotidiano, distinte per sette ore canoniche, alla beata Virgine nella forma che d' antichissimo tempo era sempre consueto celebrarsi, in onore della Maestá divina, e nei cento anni seguenti, si aumentó tanto la venerazione, che si ridusse al colmo, e fino al attribuirgli quello che le divine scritture dicono della divina sapienza; e tra le novità inventate fu una, questa—la totale esenzione dall' peccato originale; quella pero restava solamente nell' opinione di alcuni pochi privati senza aver luogo nelle ceremonie ecclesiastiche ne appresso gli uomini dotti. Circa 1137 i canonici di Lione ardirono d' introdurla negli uffizi ecclesiastici—S. Bernardo, che in quei tempi viveva, stimato il piú dotto e pio di quel secolo, e nelle lodi della beata Virgine frequentissimo, sino a dargli il titolo di Collo della chiesa, pel quale passa dal capo ogni Grazia et ogni influsso, inveì severamente contro quei canonici, scrisse loro reprendendoli di aver introdotto novita pericolosa senza ragione e senza esempio dell' antichitá; e che non manchavano luoghi per lodare la Virgine alla quale non puo piacere una novita presontuosa, madre della temeritá, sorella della superstizione, figlia della leggerezza."—Lib. ii. p. 176.

The Council of Trent, in order not to condemn the Franciscan brothers, who defended the canons of Lyons, nor the Dominicans, who were of a contrary opinion, declared the Virgin neither to be comprised, nor altogether excluded, in the original sin; referring to the Constitutions of Sixtus IV., who approved the office of Leonard Nagarola

prothonotary; and condemning the opinion which consists in believing or denying the conception to be a heresy.* The man of learning, overlooking such frivolous questions, knows what to believe; but the ignorant one has no such choice. Such was the decision of those who, mingling politics with religion, overturned both.

D.

Nella Cronica del Monastero di Farfa da me data alla luce, si legge questo decreto piu copioso che nella raccolta dei Concilii, per che vi ha il catalogo di tutti i cardinali, Vescovi, assistenti al medesimo Concilio, e qui si legge qualchè aggiunta alle medesime sureferite parole; siccome gia mediante il di lui nunzio, Cancelliere di Lombardia concedemmo, e dei successori di lui, che dalla sede Apostolica che personalmente ottennero questo dritto si uniscano al consenso della nuova elezione. In questa maniera il papa rimise nei termini dell' antica consuetudine da noi per piu secoli operrata, l' elezione dei Romani pontefici, con formandola ai cardinali e al clero e popolo Romano, ma con riserbare l'approvazione al regnante imperatore prima di consecrarlo. Prevalendosi in oltre della minorità del Re Arrigo fece divento questo un privilegio personale, accordato

* From the thirteenth Canto of the Paradiso of Dante, one may infer, that the perfection of the nature of the Virgin was not a tenet of the theologians of his time. He makes St. Thomas speak thus:—

"Pero se il caldo amor la chiara vista
Della prima virtu dispone e segna,
Tutta la perfezione quivi s' acquista—
Cosi fu fatta già la terra degna
Di tutta l' animal perfezione;
Cosi fu fatta la Vergine pregna.
Si ch' io commendo tua opinione:
Che l' umana natura mai non fue,
Ne fia qual fu in quelle due persone."

These two persons were Adam and Jesus Christ.

dalla Santa Sede all' imperatore. I Greci, i Franchi, e i Tedeschi Augusti fin qui, avevano sostenuto che questa fosse una prerogativa dell' alto loro dominio in Roma, e in concedere gli Itali al Romano pontefice si riserbavano per patto questo da loro preteso dritto."—V. Muratori.

DECRETO DI NICCOLO II.

"In N. D. S. D. N. S. Christiano anno ab In. 1059, mense Aprili indect. xii.; præsidente quoque Revdmo ac Beamo Nicolao Aplo. viro in Basilica Lateranensi Patriarchii quæ cognom. Constanti. consedentibus etiam Remis. Archi. Epis. Abb. seu venerabili Præsbiteris atque Diaco.

"Idem venerab. Pontifex auctori. Aposto. decernendæ electionis Summi Pontif. inquit:— Novit beatitudo vestra dilectiss. fratres et episcopi. Inferiora quoque Christi membra non latuit defuncto piæ memoriæ Dno Stephano decessore nostro sac. Aposto. sedis, qui Deo auctore quot adversa pertulerit, quot denique per simoniacæ hæresis pervers. malleis crebrisque tonsionibus subjacuerit, adeo ut columna Domini viventis jam jam penes videret: concussa et lagena summi piscatoris procellis intumescentibus cogeretur in naufragii profund. submergi si placeat fraternitat. vestræ debemus auxiliante Deo, futuris casibus prudenter occurrere et Statuine rediviva, quod absit, mala prævaleant in posterum prævidere.

"Quapropter instructa prædecessorum nostrum aliorumque sanctorum patrum auctoritate decernimus et statuimus, ut obeunte hujus Romanæ universalis ecclesiæ pontifice in primis cardinales diligentissime simul consideratione tractantes, salvo debito onore et reverentia dilectissimi filii nostri Hen., qui in præsentiarum rerum habetur, et futurus imperator Deo concedente speratque, sicut jam mediante ejus nuntio Longobardiæ cancellario concessim. et successorum illius, qui ab hac aposto. sede personaliter hac jus impetraverit ad consensum novæ electionis accedant, ut

nimirum ne venalitatis morbus qualibet occasione subripiat, religiosi viri cum serenissimo nostro rege filio S. præducessint in promovendo pontificis electionem. Reliqui autem seguaces elegant, autem de ipsius ecclesiæ gremio si reperitur idoneus, vel si de ipsa non invenitur ex alia assump.; quod si pravorum atque iniquorum hominum ita perversitas invasuerit, ut pura, sincera, atque gratuita electio fieri si urbe non possit, si et pauci sint, jus tamen potestatis obtineant eligendæ apostolicæ sedis pontificem, ubi cum invictissimo rege congruentius judicaverint. Plane postquam electio fuerit facta, si bellica tempestas vel qualiscumque hominum conatus malignitatis studio restiterint, ut is qui electus est in apostolica sede juxta consuetudinem intronizari non valeat, electus tamen sic papa auctoritatem obtineat regendi S. Rom. Ecc. et disponendi omnes facultates illius; quomodo beatus Gregorius ante suam consecrationem fuisse cognovimus. Quod si quis, &c." Then follows the anathema and the signatures, amongst which is that of Hildebrand, subdeacon and cardinal.

E.

S. Alferio Vescovo di Amalfi ad Ildebrando fulminatore degli Scomunicati.

Inno.

Quanta gloria publicam
Rem tuentibus indita
Sæpe eam fuerit, tuam,
Ildebrande, scientiam
Nec latere putavimus.

Et putamus—idem Sacra
Et Latina refert Via
Illudet Capitolii,
Culmen eximium thronus
Pollens imperii docet.

Sed quid istius ardui
Te laboris et invidiæ
Fraudis aut piget aut pudet?
Id bonis eternim viris
Plus peste subita nocet.

Virus invidiæ latens
Rebus in miseris suam
Porrit invalitudinem,
Hisque non aliis necem
Et pericula confert.

Sed ut invidearis, et
Non ut invideas, decet
Te peritia, quem probi
Et boni facit unice
Compotem meriti sui.

Omne judicio tuo
Jus favet; sine quo mihi
Vel favoris mediam
Præmiumve potest dare.

Cordis eximius vigor
Vitæ nobilis optima
Res secuta probant quidem
Juris ingenium modo
Cujus artibus uteris.

Ex quibus caput urbium,
Roma, justior, et prope
Totus orbis eas timet—
Sæva barbaries adhuc
Clara stegmate regio.

His et archiapostoli
Fervido gladio Petri
Frange robur et impetus,
Illius cactus est jugum
Usque sentiat ultimum.

Quanta vis anathematis?
Quidquid et Marius prius
Quodque Julius egerant
Maxima nece militum
Voce tu modica facis.

Roma quid Scipionibus
Cæterisque Quiritibus
Deluit mage quam tibi,
Cujus est studiis tuæ
Nactæ via potentiæ.

Qui probe quoniam satis
Multa consulerant bona,
Patriæ perhibentur, et
Pace perpetua frui
Juris et regionibus.

Te quidem potioribus
Proditum meritis manet
Gloriosa perenniter
Vita civibus ut tuis
Compareris Apostolis.

F.

" TRA lasciato di parlare di quei felici tempi quando il nome di chiesa era commune a tutta l' adunanza dei fedeli, alla quale ancora apparteneva l' uso e il dominio dei beni che si chiamano ecclesiastici; quando d' una massa commune era preso il vitto e vestito dei poveri e dei ministri; anzi si provvedeva più principalmente ai bisogni di quelli che di questi: ne facendo menzione di quando, per la imperfezione si smontí un grado, e si fece d' una massa 4 parti, ponendo nell' infimo luogo quella dei poveri, che secondo l' uso di anzi doveva esser nel primo. Ma pigliando principio, dopo che fu escluso dal nome di chiesa il popolo di Christo: e appropriatolo ai soli chierici, per appropriarli

insieme l' uso e il dominio dei beni fu a pochi applicato quello, che di tutti era, e agli opulenti quello che prima serviva agli indigenti."

He just previously says, " I gradi ecclesiastici non furano nell' origine loro istituiti come dignita, preeminenze, premii, ovvero onori, siccome oggidi e da molte centinara d' anni si vedono; ma come ministeri — carichi, detti con un altro nome da S. Paolo, opere, e da Christo nell' suo Evangelio — operarii; però' non poteva allora entrare in pensiero ad alcuno di assentarsi dall' eseguirli in persona propria ..... E quantunque fosse i ministerio di due sorte, alcuni che anticamente chiamavano del verbo e al presente si dice di cura d' anime; ed altri delle cose temporali pel vitto e servizio dei poveri e infermi, come erano le diaconie ed altre opere subalterne; ugualmente tutti si tenevano obbligati a quel servizio in propria persona ..... Aumentata la chiesa altra sorte di ministri fu istituita per servire alle radunanze ecclesiastiche cosi nel leggere le divine scritture, come in altre funzioni per eccitare la devozione." — *Paolo Sarpi, Storia del Concilio di Trento*, lib. i. p. 212.

G.

Le liti dei fratelli essendo decise prima dai fratelli medesimi all' amichevole e per mezzo della carità si altamente dal Vangelo inculeata, i popoli volontariamente si rivolsero a tal forma di decisioni — si passo à giudicare le cause criminali; e le sentenze chiamavansi pianto, pel piangere che si faceva in simile circostanza. Divinute le chiese grande e premurose, tali pianti si fecero dal Vescovo, che proponeva le cause nel collegio dei preti e diaconi che chiamavano presbiterio; e là si maturavano per reciver poi l' ultima risoluzione nella generale congregazione della chiesa. Una tal forma era in piedi ancora nel 250 — cessate le persecuzioni, la carità raffredata, il presbiterio addossò al Vescovo quasi tutto l' incarico del giudzio, che

una fine ambizione abbracciò col trasporto, ed eressero in medesimi un tribunale frequentatissimo. Costantino consolidò questi tribunali, e principio quindi il giudizio episcopale ad essere Forense. Valente ampliò anche una tale giurisdizione—il che non piaceva ai buoni Vescovi. Agostino sene lamenta, chiamandola un angaria, che occupavagli quasi tutto il suo tempo. Pure, insorgendo degli abusi, Arcadio ed Onorio raffrenarono una tale autorità e stabilirono, che i Vescovi non giudicassero che le cause ecclesiastiche. Dopo varie altre vicende Giustiniano stabili loro foro, udienza, le cause di religione; i delitti degli Ecclesiastici e varie giurisduzioni sopra i Laici quando a loro ricorrevano: per questi gradi, la caritativa correzione da Christo istituita, degenerò in una dominazione, e fu causa di far perdere ai Christiani l' antica reverenza ed ubbidienza. Divise le provincie Orientali dalle Occidentali; ed i Vescovi assunti per consiglieri dei principi, il loro dominio divenne immenso; e pretesero dopo 200 anni assolutamente ogni giudizio criminale e civile sopra i chierici, e in diverse materie anche, sopra i laici: inventarono il foro misto, per cui il Vescovo potesse contro il secolare agire, o il magistrato di lui, dando luogo alla prevensione colla quale per l' acquisita loro sollecitudine, non lasciando mai luogo al secolare, in appropriavano tutto; e quelli che restavano fuori di si gran numero, venivano in fine compresi da una regola da loro stabilita, come fondamento di fede—cioe—che ogni causa si divolga al foro ecclesiastico, se il magistrato non vorra o sara negligente a far giustizia. Ma, se le pretensioni del clero si fossero a tal punto fermate, lo stato della republica Christiana sarebbe stato tollerabile. Ma chi ha messo il Christianesimo sotto il giogo, gli ha infine levato il modo di scuoterlo dal Collo. Imperroche dopo il 1050, essendo gia fatte proprie del foro episcopale tutte le cause dei chierici e tante dei laici con titolo di spiritualità, e participate quasi tutte le altre, sotto nome di foro misto, e sopra postovi ai magistrali secolari sotto pretesto di denegata

giustizia, si passò a dire, che quella potestà di giudicare cotanto estesa, non l' aveva il Vescovo, ne per concessione di principi, ne pu connivenza loro, o per volontà dei popoli, o per consuetudine introdotta; ma che era essenziale alla dignità episcopal e datagli da Christo: una tale impostura, contraria a tutte le storie e constituzioni degl' imperatori si Orientali che Occidentali, e fondata sopra una semplice asserzione ardita per parte dei Vescovi, fu inculcata dai canonisti fino a dischiarare eretica l' opinione contraria. E si venne finalmente a dire che in tutte le cause approprivatesi il clero, niuno poteasi intromettere, divinendo come spirituali; e che delle cose spirituali, i laici erano incapaci. Fattosi cosi un foro assoluto e independente, si venne a fabbricare un impero, essendo nati in questo tempi sotto Ildebrando; e quindi radicata una nuova opinione e molto piu ardua, e che, tutto in un tratto, diede al Romano pontifice l'autorità di tutti i vescovi in tanti modi ammirabili acquistata, rimovendo dall' esser fondamento della giurisdizione il legare e sciogliere, e sostituendosi il pascere."— V. Sarpi, Concilio di Trente.

In the above-cited Chronicle of Farfa, which is printed by Muratori in the second volume of his Rer. Ital., of which I have seen a somewhat different copy in manuscript, in the Barberini library, there is a long string of names of popes, and facts to prove the imperial right to the election of the new pontiffs: and in this collection the last is the Bishop of Valetri, who, it says, was created pope, and expelled at the end of nine months. Ptolemy of Lucca, in his Ecclesiastical History, also cites him in the number of the popes, although he was afterwards expelled. It may, therefore, excite surprise that Pope Nicholas should have hazarded this assertion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

EXALTATION OF THE ARCHDEACON HILDEBRAND TO THE PAPACY.—HIS LETTER TO PRINCES AND BISHOPS.—PRETENSIONS OVER FOREIGN KINGDOMS.—FIRST COUNCIL AT ROME AGAINST MARRIED PRIESTS.—SECOND COUNCIL AT ROME AGAINST INVESTITURES.—THE POPE DEPOSED IN A COUNCIL AT WORMS.—THIRD COUNCIL AT ROME.—THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. DEPOSED.—DICTATES OF HILDEBRAND.

When Hildebrand, at the head of the Countess Matilda's troops, had lowered the presumption of the Normans, and curbed their incessant irruptions, the statement was brought him of the death of Pope Alexander, who, according to Fiorentini, was at his ordinary residence at Lucca. Other historians, and amongst them Muratori, on the authority of the Cardinal of Aragon, contradict this account, and say that he died at Rome. Whether this be so or not is, comparatively, a question of no moment. It is of more importance to ascertain whether Hildebrand was

April 21. 1073.

elected pope legally; or through popular tumult and commotion promoted by intrigue and gold. Muratori, in his Annals, seems to incline in favour of Hildebrand; although he charges the Chronicle of Lambertus with incorrectness, and impeaches the veracity of the Cardinal of Aragon. The Signor St. Marc, followed by Gibbon and others, says that, immediately on the death of Alexander, the people demanded Hildebrand for pope; that the cardinals, terrified at the tumult, fled to the church of St. Peter in Vinculis, where the people followed, and compelled them to join in the general proclamation of Hildebrand as pope; and that this noisy election, although at first displeasing to him, was afterwards acquiesced in, and accepted by him.* The Abbot Uspergensis, a contemporary writer, assures us that Hildebrand was considered as an intruder, having only been elected by the Roman people.† Bennone asserts that he opened the way to the papacy by the royal money.‡ This variety of opinions may be set aside by quoting a letter from Hildebrand himself to Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, when the tumult of his election

Election of Hildebrand June 29. 1073.

Letter of Gregory to Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino.

* Labbe, Concil. tom. x.

† "Cum absque regis consensu solis tantum Romanis consentatus hunc apicem conscendisse, sunt, qui illum non canonice constitutum, sed tyrannice papatum sibimet asseverent usurpasse; pro qua re, et a nonnullis, episcopis abdicatus est." — *Uspergense.*

‡ Benno. in fasciculo rer. expetend. fol. iii. Benzo. Ep. Alb. l. vii. et viii. apud Menke. Theodor. Virdun. Ep. ad Gregor. VII. apud Mort. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. i. p. 117.

had as yet scarcely subsided:—"Gregory, elected Roman pontiff, to Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino; health in Jesus Christ. Alexander, our pope, is dead, and my bowels are sorely troubled thereat. Moreover, contrary to their usual custom, the Roman people continued tranquil at his decease, and placed the reins of government in our hands: so that it might evidently appear that this had been ordained by God. And having accepted the government, we established tranquillity; and after three days' fasting, and the litanies, and the prayers of many, accompanied with alms, and by the help of the divine aid, we took such measures as seemed best for the obsequies of the Roman pontiff. Whilst the aforesaid pope, our lord, was being interred in the church of St. Saviour, a great tumult arose, and the people became infuriated against me,—so that I might say with the prophet, 'I came into the depths of the sea, and the tempest overwhelmed me.'—'I was weary with crying, and my throat was hoarse, and fear and trembling came upon me:'—but as I am weary, and in bed, I cannot relate fully all my sufferings. I pray thee, therefore, by the omnipotent God, that the suffragan brothers and sons whom thou nourishest in Jesus Christ may unite to pray to God for me, and intreat him with true charity, that at least their prayers, which ought to save me from danger, may protect me if I incur it. Tarry not in coming to us a single moment, that thou mayest not be ignorant how much the Roman church

standeth in need of thee, and what confidence it hath in thy prudence. Salute the lady empress, 1073.
the venerable Rainaldus, Bishop of Cuma, on our behalf; and beg them now to exhibit whatever affection they may have for us.—This twenty-second of April."

This letter, elucidating the exact facts, raises a presumption that Pope Alexander died in Rome; that Hildebrand's election took place almost immediately upon his death; that he suddenly assumed the name of Gregory the Seventh; that he did not make all the objections of which his flatterers boast; and that the alms given to the people, which are mentioned in the letter, and which accompanied the fast which was ordained, were the money of which Bennone speaks as the source of that spontaneous movement in the multitude for the proclamation of Hildebrand. The largesses made to the people for their vote, in some measure important, were always denominated alms by those who bestowed them. Romualdus of Salerno asserts, in his Chronicle, that Hildebrand was raised to the pontificate on the very day of Pope Alexander's death; and that he was the first pontiff who took the administration of the kingdom and made himself king.* Benzone asserts that Hildebrand caused

* "Anno 1073 Alexander Papa diem obiit, et archidiaconus ejus, nomine Hildebrandus, ipso autem die in ordine pontificali electus, et Papa Gregorius est appellatus; seditque annis xii. mense 1.—Hic autem pontifex administratione regni sibi primus ut rex assumpsit."—*Romualdus.*

himself to be elected by a faction of laymen, immediately on the death of Alexander (in spite of the canons which prohibited these hurried elections), and by means of large sums of money distributed amongst the people; a mode of proceeding which disgusted many cardinals, who abandoned him. This Bishop Benzone finally succeeded in informing himself of the death of Alexander, and says that it was brought about by means of the archdeacon, and the celebrated Deacon Benzuto, a poisoner, who was his intimate friend, opening his veins. Aventinus also seems to participate in this opinion, on the faith of Girocus Reichspergensis, whose text the Jesuit Gretserus afterwards corrupted*; and quotes some verses, which represent Hildebrand as an invader of the church, and the destroyer of empresses, duchesses, and abbesses.†

If, however, these last authors may justly be suspected of too great violence against Hildebrand, still their opinions are not irreconcileable with those which may be deduced from the foregoing letter; and we may fairly believe that the election of Hildebrand was effected by tumult and violence, and was contrary to every canon of the church. Many cardinals too, opposed to the violation of regular conduct, protested against

* V. Dictionnaire de Bayle, v. Greg. VII.

† "Abbatissarum reginarumque subactor,
Propter adulterium sumpsit episcopum.
Mundi Roma caput si non ulciscitur illud;
Quæ caput orbis erat cauda sit, et pereat."

it, and openly rebelled. Hildebrand, equally above his fellow-creatures and the laws, flattered by the acclamations of the people and the soldiers of Matilda, who escorted him, accepted the papacy, and took the name of Gregory VII., in memory of Gregory VI., his friend and protector, who died in exile; from which circumstance the principle of his exaltation may be gathered. Hildebrand always continued to acknowledge him as true and legitimate pontiff; and, consequently, called himself VII., instead of the VIth. The decree of his election was couched in the following terms:—

Decree of Hildebrand's election.

"In the year 1073 of the incarnation of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, on the 22d of April, the day of the burial of Pope Alexander the Second, of blessed memory, in order that the apostolic see might not long bewail her own shepherd in widowhood, we, the cardinals, clergy, acolites, subdeacons, deacons, priests of the holy Roman Catholic church, together with the venerable bishops, abbots, clergy, and monks, being assembled in the church of St. Peter in Vinculis, assenting and proclaiming with each other, elect, as shepherd and high pontiff, and true vicar of Christ, the Archdeacon Hildebrand, a man of great learning and true piety; of prudence, justice, and constancy in religion; modest, sober, chaste, master in his own house, hospitable to the poor; and nobly enough brought up, in the bosom of the holy Mother Church, from his tenderest years to his present age;

learned; whom we wish in truth to preside, with the same power which Peter once exercised, over the church of God."

If we analyse the first passages of this decree, we may perceive that the assent of the people in proclaiming him pope was not fully expressed in it; that the votes of the cardinal, bishops, and archbishops were wanting. That he was not nobly *born*, but only said to be nobly enough *educated;* that the proclamation being made in St. Saviour's, the decree was passed in St. Peter in Vinculis, which indicates that the clergy, being forced by the soldiers and his partisans to elect him, escaped in a body, and took refuge in that church, where, being pursued, they were obliged to execute the act of election which I have recited. Similar reflections show us what sort of credit is due to the Roman Catholic authors of the life of this pontiff.

The monk Hildebrand having by these means obtained the pontificate, and written the foregoing letter to the Abbot of Monte Cassino, wrote also to Gisulfus, Prince of Salerno, to the same effect, but without inviting him to Rome. He sent also envoys to Henry, for his approbation; wrote in the most gentle and flattering terms to his protectresses, Beatrice and Matilda; sent Cardinal Ugo a second time into Spain, to reclaim the rights of St. Peter over the provinces newly conquered from the Arabs; and excited all the princes of Gaul to undertake with their troops some noble enterprise. The following ex-

Gregory's pretensions to Spain as the right of St. Peter.

pressions occur in these letters, which are otherwise too long for quotation:—"We think you are aware that the kingdom of Spain was of old the right of St. Peter; and still (although long occupied by pagans) rightfully belongs to no mortal, but only to the apostolic see: since that which, by the authority of God, has once justly become the property of the church, can never be taken from it, whilst God remains, except by a legitimate concession. On this account, the Count Evolo di Roccio bargained to retain that which he conquered on the part of St. Peter, paying to him an annual tribute. If any of you wish to enter separately into a portion of that land, the cause of the warfare, which it is proposed to undertake from a spirit of devotion, must be supported by vows; and no injury must be done to St. Peter. We desire you also to understand, that, without the agreement to pay a just tribute to St. Peter, the entrance shall not be permitted. On the contrary, by our apostolical authority, we shall be constrained to prohibit it, rather than that the holy and only Mother Church, suffering the same from her sons as from her enemies, should be wounded, not to the detriment of her property, but of her children. Wherefore we send into these parts our beloved son Ugo, cardinal of the holy Roman church, a priest in whose mouth are our councils and decrees, that he may demonstrate them more openly, and dispose of these matters in our place." Such were the pretensions which Hildebrand had for a long time assumed, and which, in all his operations, he put

forward.* † The past greatness of the Roman empire was vividly impressed upon his mind. A charter, written no matter how, said that the empire of the West had been given by Constantine to St. Peter; and this charter he was determined to enforce, with temporal and spiritual arms. Elected in the manner we have described, and at the head of a tolerable number of troops, there yet remained two formidable enemies for him to conquer—Henry IV. King of Germany, and the Normans, who were very powerful in the Two Sicilies. To subdue the first, he availed himself of the protection of the empress-mother, and the two famous countesses, Beatrice and Matilda; against the second he had no other resource than persuasion or the sword. Letters were despatched from Rome to the two princesses in the most courteous terms, protesting that no pontiff had ever been more friendly to Henry than himself; that he had sent him messengers of peace, and that he was desirous of an amicable adjustment. He wrote moreover to Matilda and Beatrice, who had interested themselves in favour of Anselmo, Bishop of Lucca, who was in disgrace with Hildebrand for having received his investiture from Henry. He called Anselmo a learned man, capable of

* "Three instances occur in the Corps Diplomatique of Dumont where a Duke of Dalmatia (t. i. p. 53.), a Count of Provence (p. 58.), and a Count of Barcelona (ibid.), put themselves under the feudal superiority and protection of Gregory." — *Hallam's History of the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. 4to. chap. vii. p. 53. in note.

deciding for himself as to the right, and not doubting that he would recognise it. In fact, Anselmo, after some delay, decided against himself, and asked the pope's pardon. Gregory then replied to him thus:—"Since we love our brother with sincere affection, and love and take care of his utility, it is meet that you receive our commands without hesitation. Take heed and abstain from the investiture of the bishopric received from the hands of the king, until, by satisfying God for his communication with the excommunicated, he shall have made his peace with us. Such persons as our most beloved daughter the empress Agnes, and the religious Beatrice, with her daughter Matilda, and Ridolfus, Duke of Swabia, are endeavouring to accomplish this work; and we cannot, and ought not, to despise their religious councils. If, however, delay should arise through any accident in this business, you may stay in Rome amongst our friends, and be with us, apart both from adversity or prosperity." Almost at the same time he wrote to Duke Godfrey, the husband of Matilda, who favoured Henry, saying, "that the jubilee for his exaltation pleased, although that event had brought him grief and anguish: for that, feeling the burthen of the people, he rather desired death; that if God did not aid him, he could not resist; that the world was malicious; that the bishops were disturbers rather than shepherds; that he had great confidence in him; that Saint Peter would protect him; that no one was a more ardent admirer or lover of King Henry than himself; that

Letter to Godfrey, surnamed the Humpbacked.

he intended as soon as possible to communicate with him on all matters which regarded the honour of the church and his own, by means of legates; that he desired his salvation more than his own; that then, if the king were blindly opposed to reason and duty, and contemptuously exclaimed, "Cursed be he that sheatheth his sword from blood!" his perverseness would not influence *him;* for that *he,* who was the servant of God, could neither desire to please men, nor recede for human considerations." Thus, by means of equivocal and hypocritical letters, he excited and prejudiced the minds of men in his own favour. The resolutions of Henry were as yet unknown, — to-day he flattered, to-morrow threatened, according to the undulating advice of his courtiers. Gregory also directed a letter to Rameris, Bishop of Florence, and prayed him to order a certain lady who had married her relation to separate from him immediately, and restore all she had received from her incestuous friend; prohibiting her, moreover, to remarry without having satisfied divine justice. A few days afterwards he sent other letters to the Duchess Beatrice and her daughter, loudly condemning the audacity of those who had dared to lay hands on Godfrey, Archbishop of Milan, who was guilty of simony: he complained of the Bishops of Lombardy, attributing bad habits to them; and exhorted those princesses to favour the election of the new Bishop of Lucca. In a tone of equal violence, he wrote to Guido of Imola, to enquire the truth of an accusation against Guibertus,

Archbishop of Ravenna, of attempting to absolve the Imolese from their oath of fidelity to the Roman church. Nor did he lose sight of the affairs of Spain. He wrote to Gherard, Bishop of Ostia, and the Subdeacon Raimbaldus, his legates in that province. Gherard, specially invested with that title to some churches of France, had deposed Bishop Lancellinus for being guilty of simony; and presided at the election of that Ugo of whom we had occasion to speak. Some military expeditions were commenced against the Saracens in Spain. The neighbouring French, incited by Rome to these enterprises, had made some progress; and in their march had embrued their swords in the blood of Jews, whose ill-understood superstitions caused them to be regarded as deicides and public enemies. In these letters Gregory gave an account of the death of Alexander, and of his election by the people; and to the legates he said that Cardinal Ugo had made his submission to the holy see, and that he had invested him with the quality of apostolic legate in those parts.* He exhorted Gherard to join with him in pacifying Ugo, Abbot of Clugni and his monks; and all three of them to combine in giving aid to Ebolus, Count of Roçcio, who was making head against the Saracens in Spain. He exhorted them to send fit persons into the conquered provinces to reform the manners of the inhabitants, and enforce the rights of the apostle Peter; and

Letter to the Bishop of Ostia.

* V. l' Ab., v. x. Ep. di S. Greg. VII.

ultimately enjoined them to return speedily to Rome. In his letter to the princes of Spain, he developes his principles with some clearness; and coolly acquaints them that Spain belongs of undoubted right to the church of Rome.

Between Manasses, Archbishop of Metz, and William, Abbot of St. Remigius (which was an abbey in that city), certain disputes had broken out according to the spirit of those times, when the monks, avowed enemies of the secular clergy and of the bishop, pretended to depend exclusively on Rome. The abbot, being compelled to quit the convent, no sooner learned the election of Gregory than he returned to it, and wrote a congratulatory letter to his friend and brother monk in these words: — "Albeit, since every thing is regulated by Divine wisdom, with wonderful dispensation and immutable order, a better provision was never made than when it elected thee, the man of the people, and the head of all things. The poor and humble, looking at thy life and manners, will lean upon and take thee to themselves as a certain guide. Bind then, O most powerful mind, thy sword upon thy thigh,—that sword, I say, which is to shed blood, according to the Prophet. The Lord hath promised us one who shall devour all flesh. Surely thou shalt see the fields of the Israelites, the Amalekites, the Midianites, and that all the plagues have conspired. There is need of great despatch, of continual study, of wise counsel, that the beasts and monsters may be bowed down, and brought under the yoke.

Letter of the Abbot of St. Remigius to Gregory VII.

Be not hindered, therefore, by fear or threats from any one in this spiritual conflict and holy fight; but march to battle after the fashion of Gideon, and conquer and destroy."—Appropriate sentiments these, truly, for the followers of the meek and holy Jesus! On the receipt of this letter, Gregory immediately interfered between Manasses and William; and confiding the management of the affair to Ugo, Bishop of Clugni, he threatened Manasses with his vengeance if he did not desist from his enterprise, and leave William in the peaceable possession of his monastery.

Meanwhile, the bishops of Germany were maddened at the election of Hildebrand, and sought by every effort to alienate the king from him; representing him as violent, fanatical, simoniacal, and the bitterest enemy to the German name.* Henry, however, either moved by the importunities of his mother or the Tuscan princesses, or because, having begun the war against the Saxons, he could not intermeddle in the affairs at Rome, sent Count Berardus to that court with directions to ascertain the reality of the facts, and annul the election of the new pontiff if he found it simoniacal. On his arrival at Rome, this envoy was courteously received, and, on demanding an account of the proceedings, Gregory informed him, that he had been elected by the clergy and people against his own will, and in spite of his own opposition; but that he should not have allowed himself to

Count Berardus sent as envoy to Rome by King Henry.

* V. Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis in Chron.

be forced to undergo ordination, had he not been previously assured that the King and princes of Germany had approved of it. So humble a reply satisfied King Henry and all his regal pretensions; and Gregory, Bishop of Vercelli, chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, was sent to Rome, in the royal name, to approve and assist at the consecration.* Muratori says, that the chronicle of Lambertus is incorrect in stating that Gregory was consecrated in the following year, on the day of the Purification of the Virgin: however this may be, we shall adopt his opinion, and fix the consecration of Gregory on the 29th June, 1073. He was, according to Pagi, the last pope consecrated by the royal authority.

Consecration of Gregory.

The letters which I have already quoted show that Gregory, even before he was consecrated, had exercised the pontifical authority in its fullest extent. Scarcely, however, could he justly be styled pope, than he developed his fanaticism, and energy, and ambition, in all their force. He put himself at the head of a small army, and marched towards Apulia, to repress the audacity of the turbulent Normans. He wrote also to the Lombards, to acquaint them with the excommunication of Godfrey, the usurper of the church of Milan; to Gherard, Bishop of Ostia, to reprove him for not having given him intelligence of a synod over which he had presided in Spain, and in which many bishops had been deposed; and, shortly after these proceedings,

The pope marches into Apulia.

* Annali d' Italia, an. 1073.

set out against his most troublesome enemies. On the 8th of July he was at Laurentum, a city then in ruins, between the port of Anzium and Ostia, six miles from Lavinia; and from thence wrote to Wratislaus, Duke of Bohemia, exhorting him to receive his legates, Gregory and Bernard, kindly; to rebuke Jaromirus of Prague, who had treated him with great disrespect; to pay the tribute which he had promised to St. Peter; and in all respects to conduct himself faithfully towards the church.

During his journey, a letter was brought to him from Duke Michael, (who, two years before, had assumed the throne of Constantinople, with the title of emperor,) in which he expressed a desire to re-unite the churches, which had been long separated by a grievous schism. Gregory joyfully embraced this proposal; and sent Dominico di Grado as his apostolic legate to Constantinople, with a letter from Albano, on the 9th of July. He then proceeded to Monte Cassino, with the Abbot Desiderius, whom he had already made a cardinal; and from thence to Beneventum. It provokes a smile of contempt to hear Baronius commiserating the pope for all the fatigues and inconveniences of this journey, undertaken for the sake of humanity and peace. According to him, had he travelled through the frozen forests of the north, or the burning sands of the south, he could not have endured greater hardships.

The pope sends a legate to Constantinople.

On the pope's arrival at Beneventum, amidst popular applause, he obtained an oath from its

prince, Landolfus, by which, if he violated his faith to Gregory or his successors, or conferred any investiture of his own authority, or acted contrary to the laws and privileges of the state, he was to abdicate his dominion.

From Beneventum he went to Capua*, and there the ecclesiastical writers say that he exacted a similar oath from Richard I., its reigning prince. Here he stayed nearly three months, and wrote to the Bishop of Crema, and to Anselmus, elected Bishop of Lucca, who was said to hold correspondence with the schismatics. He expressly forbade him to receive the investiture of his bishopric from the king, until he should have given full satisfaction for the charge brought against him by the court of Rome.† The consecration, however, of Anselmo, who went to Rome purposely to receive that honour from the hands of Gregory, in the month of December, 1073, was prevented by the legates of Henry, who alleged the rights of their patron. Anselmo then received the investiture from the king, and was thus consecrated. Gregory, indignant at this conduct, loudly reproached him for his pusillanimity and inconsistency. The repentant Anselmo, moved by the exhortations of his offended friends, withdrew to the monastery of Clugni in France, under pretence of doing penance; whereupon Gregory was graciously

Consecration of Anselmo.

* Baron. Ann. ad hunc ann.; Becchetti, Storia Eccl.; Muratori, Ann. d' Ital.

† Ep. ii.

pleased to restore him to favour, and make him one of the instruments of his oppression.*

Gregory also wrote to Rodolphus, Duke of Suabia, and Rainaldus of Como, exposing the motives of his attachment to Henry, and also the reasons which obliged him not to communicate with him; and inviting both these personages to Rome, in order to treat of an accommodation with the German sovereign. In Capua he ordained the Archbishop Torrense, and James, Archbishop of Caglieri. To both these prelates, who were natives of Sardinia, he assigned letters for the judges of the country, exhorting them to acknowledge the authority of the Roman pontiff. He subsequently sent them as his legate the Bishop of Populonia,—a city which had not yet entirely disappeared from the face of the earth; and he wrote very particularly to Orzocus, the chief of those judges, advising him to compel James, Archbishop of Caglieri, to shave his beard, and conform to the usages of the Western church. He directed the application of similar ordinances to the whole clergy; insisted that Sardinia belonged by divine right to St. Peter; and bade its sovereign acknowledge it without hesitation, since there were many princes who, if he were willing to cede it, demanded the investiture of that island from him; viz. the Normans, Lombards, Tuscans, and some other ultramontane people; but that he was unwilling to dispose of it until he was acquainted with the disposition of its actual possessor: that, if he should find him

* Becchetti, St. Ev., an. 1073.

faithful to St. Peter, he would not only leave him in possession, but confirm and defend him in it with all his power against any invader. According to Baronius, Gregory ordained these archbishops in Capua, because Sardinia was at that time under the jurisdiction of the Capuan church. Meanwhile the numerous letters of the pontiff, and the various representations of his friends, seem to have produced an effect on the mind of Henry, who had exhibited some signs of filial affection. In writing to the pope, Henry, indeed, displayed sentiments more worthy of an abbot than an emperor, and in contradiction to every thing which he had hitherto done in defence of his dignity and the rights of his crown. "We cannot," says he, "repent of ourselves, or without your aid repair the evils and disorders which we have committed." This communication delighted and raised the hopes of Gregory, who wrote a second time to Erlembaldus, to procure a reconciliation with the king by means of Beatrice and Matilda.

Humiliation of Henry.

Such were the machinations of Gregory, who, intimately acquainted with his contemporaries, availed himself of the fitting means and opportunities to make them subservient to his premeditated plans. Africa was that ancient province of the Roman empire, which had groaned for a long time under the servitude of the Saracens, and attracted his attention. A remnant of Christianity existed in Carthage, which was subject to the Mohammedan yoke; but it was not allowed to exist in tranquillity: the bishop, Ciriacus, harassed his flock; and the flock, in revenge,

Affairs of Africa.

accused him to the governor, who caused him to be publicly flogged. The restless spirit of the corrupted Christianity of that period was never laid except when some tyrant or oppressor made it feel the weight of his commands. Flock divided against flock, and pastor against pastor, the bonds of Roman society were dissolved; and the destruction of that dominion, which had carried peace and civilisation through the world, was prepared. The pontiff, apprized of the circumstances, and of the miseries which the Christians of Africa endured, wrote to them pathetic and menacing letters; exhorting them to submit with patience to the infidels, and to repent of their crimes; and, at the same time, he comforted Ciriacus in his affliction, urging him in every way to suffer for the church. The cause of the bishop's persecution was his refusal to ordain some persons as priests, who were not qualified according to the canons. Gregory terminated his letters by threatening to excommunicate the Carthaginian flock; and by inviting the bishop to Rome to receive the pallium, — a distinction which the Roman church was in the habit of conferring on its favourite bishops. At this time there were only two bishops in Africa, viz. those of Carthage and Ippona, and their flocks were very small: so much had the name of Christianity suffered in those districts from schism!

Return of Gregory to Rome.

The affairs being terminated which had called Gregory to Capua, he set out from that city on the 24th of November, on his road to Rome. He stopped at Argenta, near Trogetto,

at Monte Cassino, Terracina, Piperno, Sezze; and arrived at Rome in December. Whilst at Terracina, he wrote a letter to England to the Bishop Nicoliniensis, who had sent to Rome for the absolution and reinstatement of a priest who had been guilty of homicide. The pontiff granted the first, and refused the second demand; giving to the criminal, however, an ecclesiastical stipend for life. With regard to the absolution, he thus expresses himself:—"The absolution of his sins, which you have prayed for, we, entrusted with the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul (of whom unworthily we execute the will), have thought fit to send you, provided that continuing in well doing, and in repentance for his past sins, his body shall become a pure temple of God."—Baronius observes, that this kind of absolution was what we call an indulgence; but the indulgences, probably, were no more than a mitigated mode of absolution.

On his return to Rome, becoming acquainted with the war which the Saxons were waging against Henry, he wrote to these princes, exhorting, or rather commanding, them to lay down their arms, until the return of the legates whom he intended shortly to despatch there. It was his intention to try negotiation before he had recourse to arms: with this view, he assumed the air and authority of common father of the faithful; and said that it was his duty to interfere in the disputes of his children, and reconcile them. The legates, however, were not in a condition to go to Germany till the follow-

ing year, 1074; and the Saxons, continuing the war, destroyed all the fortresses which had been built by the emperors in their dominions; and, drawing to their side other princes and nobles, extended the conflagration, which at first raged through only a few provinces. They subsequently, in a general assembly, decreed the deposition of Henry, and elected another king. Nothing could be more serviceable than these proceedings to the views of Gregory, whose aim was to humble the Teutonic pride, and raise himself upon the ruins of that court; so that the legates probably delayed their journey purposely, to reduce matters to such a point as should render the mediation and authority of Gregory necessary in order to establish the young king in his dominions. Certain it is, that the Saxons never violated their league with Gregory, or deviated from his injunctions.

About this period died William, the famous Abbot of Vallambrosa, a great friend and flatterer of Gregory.* The miracles which during his lifetime, and even after his death, this monk performed obtained for him the designation of holy. One of these wonderful performances was the following. Gregory, being unable, after some days, to feel the usual compunction of soul on hearing the mass, invoked the help of his friend William, and instantly obtained it. This account is given by Cardinal Igneus, who heard it from Gregory's own lips; and I relate it only 1074.

* Baronius, ad hunc ann.

for the purpose of enabling my readers to appreciate the rest of this holy monk's prodigies.

Gregory was indefatigable in writing to the monks of Vallambrosa in the most affecting terms; exhorting them to dispel their affliction by reading the Bible, and preparing themselves to confute the heretics who opposed his efforts to restore the ancient religion of the church. Never was there a sectarian, or a founder of any new system of polity or religion, indeed, who did not affect sanctity, and represent himself as a divine missionary to correct the evil manners of the times, and recall men from vice to virtue. So did Gregory; talking always to his friends and courtiers of chastity, abstinence, and miracles, to render them more affectionate and faithful; and to diffuse through the people the idea of a sanctity which was to be the basis of his greatness. By such means had he already made Rome the centre of European politics; and princes of every state and degree appealed to him for mediation in their quarrels, and comfort in their afflictions. Indefatigable in every pursuit, he sought to embellish his capital by building new churches and restoring old ones.* The powerful Roman families which, until his time, had enjoyed the offices of prefects and consuls, overcome by his ascendancy, abandoned the city and retired to their castles, there to

* The following distich, on his repairing the church of S. Maria in Portici, is to be found in Baronius: —

"Septimus hoc præsul Romano, culmine tectus,
Gregorius templum Christo sacravit in ævum."

avoid the burthen of a new and foreign yoke which he pretended to impose on them. It was a strange and, I think, unseen thing for a monk, by the path of secular power, to ascend to the highest eminences of the church, and there look down from his position with the power of a spiritual and universal king.* The ancient capital of the world, once filled with heroes and heathens, swarmed with a prodigious multitude of abbots, princes, bishops, and superiors of every kind, who, dismissed by the Roman legates, came to solicit restitution; and whom Gregory received with cordiality, and sent back absolved and contented to their respective stations, without any other atonement than that of outward submission. It was a peculiar trait of his policy to cause some bishop to be dismissed by his legate as guilty of simony and concubinage, and then shortly afterwards to re-establish him; and so, by this act of indulgence and mercy, to gain faithful and ardent proselytes for the prosecution of more important views. Little did he care for the worth or roguery of mankind, provided they favoured his projects; and the most unprincipled tyrants were the objects of his notice, and distinguished as his most beloved sons. The most severe and impartial law yielded to circumstances; and the beneficent hand of Gregory, in its omnipotent sway, saved and succoured every one over whom it was extended. There was no dispute or question, presbyterial or episcopal, mo-

* "Hic autem pontifex administrationem regni sibi primus ut rex assumpsit."—V. Romualdus Salernitamus, anno 1073.

nastic or ecclesiastic, civil or criminal, which Gregory did not himself decide. By way of adulation, he sometimes remitted ecclesiastical causes to the decision of the princes; who, cajoled by such apparent favour, lent him in return their arms, or rendered themselves the blind instruments of his unbridled ambition, whilst they thought to acquire indulgence from, and a right to the gratitude of, the apostles to whose service they were dedicated. He frightened the weak by threatening them with the arms of the strong; and kept the strong in check by the combination of the weak on his side. Thus was the saying of his panegyrists verified,—"He shall rule from sea to sea:" and the world contemplated the novel spectacle of a monk becoming a sovereign from the terror of his name, and the appearance of sanctity and religion; breaking sceptres, and trampling upon crowns, giving them or taking them away at his caprice.* True religion and social order had almost disappeared from the face of the earth. Church fought against church, bishop against bishop, family against family; and the priests, according to Sigebert †, partly from their affectation of sanctity, and partly from the notoriety of their crimes, began to be despised and vilified by the secular orders. Every one attributed to himself the right of administering the sacraments, and paid no respect to them when administered by others; and the viaticum and eucharist prepared by married priests was

* P. Benriedensis, Vita di S. Gregorio.

† Sigibertus in Chron.

trodden under foot, whilst the monks went about saying it was no true sacrament. There arose, in consequence, many false teachers, who alienated the people from the discipline of the church, and propagated continual and profane novelties.

Gregory, meanwhile, unwearied in his correspondence, wrote at the beginning of the year to his beloved Matilda, sympathising with her in the affection which she bore to the apostolic see, and inviting her and her mother to Rome. He sent a deputation, composed of the mother of the Empress Agnes; Gerard, Bishop of Ostia; Hubert, Bishop of Palestrina; Rainaldus, Bishop of Como; and the Bishop of Coira, to King Henry, who received it at Nuremberg with great courtesy; and after some difficulty in the adjustment of the preliminaries, and in obtaining a confession of guilt from the royal delinquent, it appears that Henry conformed to the admonitions of the pontiff, dismissed five courtiers formerly excommunicated by Alexander, and embraced his mother. A proposition was then made for the assembling of a council to treat on the affairs of Germany: but as it was in agitation to depose the Bishop of Bamberga, and with him all the simonists, — that is, all those bishops who had received their investiture from Henry, — there was a great dispute about it, on which historians differ; the result being that the synod was not assembled, and that the legates returned laden with presents to Rome.* 1074.

* V. Petrus Bibliotecarius; Baron. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. 1.; Bertoldus Costantiensis in Chron.

Gregory now bestirred himself to assemble a council at the Lateran, by writing to all the princes and bishops whom he knew to be well disposed to him, to the Archbishop of Aquileia and his suffragan, and those of Milan; and to the Archbishop of Praga he restored all the benefices which had been taken from him, under pretence of his crimes, to enable him to defray the expenses of his journey. He also invited Wratislaus, Duke of Bohemia, brother to the Archbishop of Praga, and William, Count of Burgundy, and his army, to undertake the defence of the church, according to his vow. In his letter to this prince, he plainly told him that other princes would be assembled with their armies at the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul; and that it was his intention, by these great armies, to frighten the Christians, and make them return to their duty; and then to march against the Turks to succour Constantinople. It appears from Muratori that he had appointed as general of the church Godfrey Gobbo, the husband of the Countess Matilda, and governor of Tuscany and other provinces dependent on that princess, and who enjoyed a high military reputation. The Christian princes who were threatened by the arms of Gregory were Normans, usurpers of the property of the church; and perhaps also Henry and the schismatics of Milan.* Had so large an amount of force in reality been collected as Gregory projected, he would easily have reduced the

* Ep. 42. lib. i. 43. and following ones.

young king to his duty; since he was distracted by the war against the Saxons, in which his troops had been beaten, and which he was about to conclude by a disgraceful peace, through the mediation of Gregory himself. But Godfrey Gobbo, who was engaged in the service of Henry against the Saxons, violated his engagement, and refused to place himself at the head of the troops of the church; and, after peace was concluded, instead of marching to Rome, turned to his duchy of Lorena, where, in a few years, he was killed. This sudden change of purpose, in a brave and ardent chieftain, gave rise to many conjectures and suspicions. Some said that the pride of his wife incited him to abandon her; some, that Gregory was the cause of this discord; and others did not scruple to assert that Godfrey was jealous of the pontiff, and was preparing for revenge, when he was treacherously murdered by the orders of his wife. The sequel of this history will, perhaps, enable us to judge more correctly of the circumstances and accuracy of the facts as to the death of Godfrey, and the cause of his disunion from Matilda.*

Godfrey Gobbo returns to Lorena, where he is killed.

* V. Baronius; Fiorentini, Vita della Contessa Matilda. Jacobus de Voragine, ord. Frat. Medio, in his "Chronicle," relates, that Matilda would not cohabit any longer with her husband, and persecuted him to death. An anonymous author of the life of Matilda, Rer. Ital. tom. iii., also says, that Matilda, having treacherously procured the death of her husband, had conspired with Gregory to become empress, by causing Henry to be killed. This same author states, that Gregory was elected to the papacy by means of Matilda, who marched suddenly with her army towards Rome after the death of

But to return to Gregory.—On the 3d of February, 1074, he wrote again to the Countess Matilda, in the following terms:—"He who knows the secrets of all hearts, knows far better than I do how much care and unceasing solicitude I have for thy safety." He then exhorts her not to be wanting in charity and all kinds of virtue; to attend frequently at the communion as the only remedy against sin. He quotes the authority of various fathers to show that the eucharist should be taken daily, and not annually, as was the custom with the Greeks; and, calling Beatrice the daughter of St. Peter, he recommends to her warmly the worship of the Virgin. He also wrote to Umbertus, Bishop of Genoa, not to permit the divorce of a certain Ansaldus, his fellow-citizen, without instituting a suit, and openly proving his wife's guilt; it being written, says he, "*Whom God hath joined man shall not put asunder;*" and, in truth, God forbids a man to abandon his wife for any other cause than fornication.* He even ordered him to excommunicate Ansaldus if he resisted his sentence. About the 1st of March, he sent a circular to all Christians to put themselves in motion, and march to the succour of Constantinople. This was the first attempt of the Roman

Alexander. It must be remembered that, at that time, she was in possession of all Tuscany, and that her dominion stretched to the banks of the Tiber.

* Divorce was not absolutely prohibited in the time of Gregory. Women guilty of adultery might be repudiated, as this letter proves.

see at the formation of a general crusade; an example more successfully followed in times of less diffidence and disorder. He remitted to Beatrice and Matilda the cause of the Bishop of Rosselle against Count Ugolino; and, in a letter written expressly on the occasion, he concludes by saying — "The omnipotent God, through the merits of the Supreme Lady, and the authority of Peter and Paul, absolves you from all your sins, and leads you with joy into the bosom of our universal Mother." This letter proves how little the remembrance of Jesus Christ entered into the heads of these illustrious personages, and how superior was the homage paid to the Virgin and the apostles.

Letter to Countess Matilda.

The time for holding the council at length arrived; and it was attended by the Countess Matilda, the Prince Gisulfus of Salerno, and the Marquis Ozzo, or Albert Ozzo II., progenitor to the two lines of the princes of Brunswick and Este. This Ozzo had taken for his third wife Matilda, sister to the Bishop of Pavia, and a widow; and, as they were allied in blood, the pope had invited them to the council that their case might be considered. The result is unknown; but it would appear, from the subsequent services of Ozzo, that he did not lose the favour of Gregory. The assemblage of bishops, abbots, and troops was very great. Such a one had not been seen at Rome since the fall of the empire; monks, courtiers, abbots, princes, bishops, and generals, promiscuously discussing the canons of the church, excommunication,

Opening of the first synod at Rome, 1074.

simony, and the marriage of priests. The Empress Agnes, and the two Countesses of Tuscany, also made their appearance, in great splendour; particularly the two latter, who in pomp and power rivalled the greatest princes of the time. But the joy of Gregory's heart in this scene of unwonted magnificence was not full and entire. A vast number of bishops and princes friendly to him had not made their appearance; nor was there any indication of their doing so. Jealousy inflamed the minds of his enemies, bold, obstinate, and powerful. His ordinary force was only swelled by some troops of Matilda and other princes of less note, of whom no doubt could be entertained; nor did the idea of the proposed crusade appear to have excited much sensation. Still was he not to be discouraged, or induced to retrace the path which he had entered. Surrounded by his sycophant bishops, he wrote to Arnoldus, and bitterly reproached him for not having accepted his invitation to Rome; and intimated to him the sentence of contumaciousness pronounced against him in a cause with a monastery which is not named. To Manasses he wrote in a gentle and gracious style, thanking him for the good choice which he had made of the Abbot of St. Remigius. He cited Roger, Bishop of Caglieri, to Rome, to defend himself against some charges, under pain of condemnation and deposition. He reproved Sigifredus, Bishop of Mayence, for having presumed to pass sentence in a long agitated cause between the Bishop of Praga and

John, Bishop of Moravia. To Ugo, Abbot of Clugni, he wrote in these terms:—"Sweet and grateful are your words; but sweeter still would they be were your love for the church more fervent:" he then upbraided him for not going to Rome, for not assisting him in upholding his burthen, and warned him that, if he longer tarried, he should not be able to endure the pain of his absence; begged him to consider the vast affairs which were in his hands, and which languished from his non-attendance; and expressed his apprehensions lest he should be overwhelmed by the immense burthen of his secular and ecclesiastical duties, since he could find no one in Rome to afford him any aid. This letter, which bears date the 17th March, 1074, is indicative of some reserve on the part of Ugo, who perhaps was but little pleased with the recent innovations: but Gregory had no difficulty in resorting to prayer and supplications to preserve the friendship of the powerful, or the help of the hands which could assist him. It is unknown what were the very urgent affairs confided to the care of Ugo. The letters of the legate never contained any secrets of any importance. The real object and most interesting point of the mission was communicated to him orally. Gregory wrote also to the King of Aragon, praising him for having introduced the Roman ritual into his kingdom; and to the King of Castile, inviting him to imitate his brother monarch's example.

These various letters, which form but an in-

considerable part of the extensive correspondence of the pope during the time that the council was proceeding in its decrees and sentences, evince the perseverance and activity of that comprehensive mind, the observation of which nothing could elude, and by the care of which every object was provided for. Kings reigned, not only by the grace of God, but by the aid of the successor of St. Peter; who heard the complaints of the people, and hesitated not a moment to render all the satisfaction which he thought meet. The supreme secular authority was certainly, in some manner, so tempered by the ecclesiastical as to interfere between the oppressor and his victim; and religion became the refuge of the disconsolate and afflicted, who groaned under the insupportable yoke of tyrants: and if Gregory had been contented with endeavouring to extend the blessings of spiritual Christianity to the world, his memory would have been blessed by countless generations, and his immoderate ambition would in great part have been forgiven.

But the sole aim of Gregory was to render his own authority superior to any human power; and he cared but little for the good of mankind. When he had overcome the sovereigns who were his adversaries, and handed down supreme power to his successors, these also followed his example. The altar was associated with the throne; and there was no other course for the prevention of injustice and convulsions. Religion and supreme power meant one and the same thing;

and the virtues of piety, gentleness, and simplicity, which deserve to be immortal, changing their name and signification, were represented by authority, rapaciousness, and pomp.

Occupied as Henry was, in the affairs of Saxony, he could not regard without concern the great movements which were emanating from the capital of Catholicism. In his heart, he hated Gregory as his bitterest enemy. With eyes of jealousy and indignation he saw Rome, so lately dependent on him, become the centre of a new power; assume the right of judging, without appeal, affairs both human and divine; and erect a bulwark against the boundless dominion which the emperors of Germany had hitherto exercised. Gregory foresaw these meditations, and dissembled. On the return of his legates, he congratulated Henry on the reception he had given them, and on the hopes which he had excited in him of himself commencing a reform in the clergy and church of Milan. He also wrote a letter to the Empress Agnes on her prosperous return from Germany, exhorting her to suffer patiently and with resignation in adversity, which it became her to endure as a punishment for her levity, and for the honour of Jesus Christ. He said that Beatrice and Matilda laboured for him night and day in bearing the burthen of public affairs, in imitation of her, their empress and mistress. Baronius, in reciting this letter, marvels greatly, saying, "Behold, O reader, the miracle of these illustrious ladies, pre-ordained by God to defend the church. God chooses

the weak to judge the strong." Had the holy annalist given more attention to this proceeding of Gregory, he would probably have seen it in a different light. His enemies used it as a pretence for discrediting him in the eyes of the multitude, accusing his honesty and chastity; and asserting that the church was governed by Matilda, a most ambitious and dissolute woman.* It is easy to discredit such calumnies; but it was an innovation in the church of God, equal only to the new doctrines which were promulgated in it, to see a council of abbots, bishops, and secular princes presided over by women. The letter is still extant in which they were invited to the presidency by the pontiff; and, as the title of damsel is applied to Matilda, Baronius instantly raises the much disputed question of her virginity.† Muratori, who also frequently

Matilda and Beatrice presidents of the council.

* Card. Bennone Paneg. Hen. III. Imp.

† I cannot forbear from taxing this author (Baronius) with ignorant credulity in asserting that the word puella signifies virgin. Had he looked into the 22d Ode of the 3d Book of Horace, he would have been undeceived.

——— "Virgo
Montium custos nemorumque,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis."

And again, —

"Vox pueri et puellæ, jam
Virum experta."

And again, —

"Vixi puellis nuper idoneus."

After all, it is not very probable that a lady who passed her life in arms and the camp, at the court of popes, and had had two husbands, should have preserved her virginity.

alludes to it in his Annals, leaves the point undetermined. I shall follow his example: but I am at a loss to know what kind of virginity to ascribe to a princess, who, by different parties, is depicted in the brightest and the blackest colours; who had lived a long time with a husband; and who had participated with Gregory in the administration of the church. Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis, who was unacquainted with the divorce of Matilda from Godfrey, — granted by the pope, according to Baronius, on the ground of impotency, — calls her "free" only after the murder of that prince. He asserts, moreover, that she was separated from him in consequence of her dislike to go to Lorena, and abandon her abode in Italy. "After his death," continues the historian, "she attached herself to Gregory as an inseparable companion, and loved him with extraordinary affection. A great part of Italy being under her dominion, the pope courted her with great assiduity, and filled the part of a most attentive father and protector to her: but there is no reason to suspect him of any incestuous passion, as the flatterers of Henry have represented, or to pretend that, after the death of her husband, her secret intercourse with the pontiff was the cause of her continued widowhood." Such a narration, from the pen of an historian so partial to the church as Lambertus, does not remove the suspicions of his opponents; but, in my opinion, rather tends to confirm them. Gregory was not a man to submit to such attacks of male-

Decrees of the council.

volence and calumny, had not his passions induced him to overlook them.* In the midst of all this correspondence and external machinations, the council proceeded in its sittings; and decreed, that the incontinence and simony of the church and clergy should be done away with; that whoever had obtained any benefice or sacred ordination by pecuniary means, should lose it, and be deposed from his rank. Married ecclesiastics were forbidden to minister at the altar, or to exercise any of their functions; and, when they presumed to do so, the laity was not to assist them, or consider their service as sacred.† The loss of the original acts of this council deprives us of the pleasure of minutely examining how much was decided in it by the holy father in matters which belonged to his sole jurisdiction. We know, however, that he excommunicated Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and all those who assisted him in his attempts against the possessions of the holy see. From the pope's letters we also learn, that divers bishops from France, particularly those against whom there was any appeal to the holy see, were summoned to it. One of them was Gozelinus of Bordeaux, against whom, on the requisition of the canon of Poitiers, some decisions were passed regarding the rites and ceremonies of that church. A certain Munione also, who had intruded himself into the bishopric of Auch, was

* Paulus Benriedensis, Vita, cap. 36.; Lambertus Schaffn.; Baronius, ad hunc ann.; Becchetti, Istoria Eccl. 1074.

† Becchetti, Istoria Eccl.

excommunicated. It was ordained that the Moorish ritual should be abolished, and the Roman Catholic substituted, in all Spain. Excommunications and absolutions flew about in all directions; and canons were established respecting simony and incontinence, and sent by means of legates to all the bishops and churches of the Catholic faith. A decree was published in France and Germany for priests to put away their wives, or renounce the altar, on pain of excommunication; and, when it came to be executed, disturbances and tumults broke out in every direction. The above-mentioned historian, Lambertus, thus proceeds: "Gregory wrote to the Gallic bishops (so the bishops of Germany were called), ordering them to publish the decree in their respective churches, and separate the priests from their wives. The whole body of the priests cried out against this proceeding; declaring that Gregory was a heretic, of false faith, and calumniator of God's word, which says, 'All men understand not my word: let him who can understand it, understand it. Let him who is not chaste take a wife; it is better to marry than to sin.' They complained that, by violent enactions, he was compelling men to live like angels, denying them the wonted course of nature; and that they would rather abandon the priesthood than their wives. But Gregory pursued them incessantly, and harassed the bishops with continual missions, threatening them with excommunication. The Bishop of Mayence, not thinking it a work of little moment, and de-

Publication of the decree against married priests.

siring to restore the church to its primitive rudiments, conducted himself with great moderation, exhorting the priests to do cheerfully what they would be compelled to do at last; and giving them time for reflection. At length a synod, assembling at Erfurth, endeavoured to force all the priests to renounce the altar or their wives. The priests, assigning many reasons to the contrary, attempted to elude the decree; and the council, replying that it acted not of its own will, but by the direction and authority of the Roman church, deprived them of any answer. A great many then, with gestures and exclamations, began to say that the bishop must be killed, and an example left to posterity not to disturb the clergy for the future. These violent rumours reaching the ears of the archbishop, he endeavoured, by gentle words and insinuations, to calm the general effervescence; and promised to send legates to Rome, to obtain the revocation of the decree. At Paris, too, a numerous synod was assembled, in which a decree was passed that the pontiff ought not to be obeyed. The Abbot of St. Martin, however, made a great resistance, at the head of his monks, and obliged the bishops to reverse it. The monks every where gave vigour and efficiency to the decrees of Rome; and the regular clergy, although united, were incapable of opposing any valid resistance to them." If the reader would desire full information as to the conduct of the Milan clergy and the opposing faction, he may consult the chronicle of Arnulfus of Milan, a

Synod of Erfurth.

Synod of Paris.

contemporary historian. Amongst other matters, he relates that Erlembaldus, the head of the Gregorian party, became furious against the archbishop. Godfrey and the married priests impeded the functions of the holy week; trampled on the sacrament of the eucharist; and interrupted the solemn baptism which usually took place in all the cathedrals on Holy Sunday. The nobles, at length, irritated by such vexations and impiety, having gained over a portion of the people, attacked the party of Erlembaldus, and slew him. This turbulent and sanguinary man was, in consequence, regarded as a martyr and honoured as a saint, like his predecessor Arioldus; and a number of miracles were exhibited on his tomb, to improve the opinion of his sanctity: but there was nothing new in this, for miracles were never wanted on such occasions.*

The church of Milan disturbed by Erlembaldus.

Death of Erlembaldus.

* Vestiges, bearing internal evidence of the artifices which were resorted to, in far subsequent periods, to impose upon the credulity of the multitude by pretended miracles, are still in existence. I lately saw, in the possession of the jeweller to the King of Hanover, a bas-relief in wood, probably of the sixteenth century, representing the crucifixion, with the figure of our Saviour on the Cross, Mount Calvary, &c., and the foreground filled with the principal personages and spectators as recorded in Scripture; with the additional introduction of an angel on her knees at the foot of the Cross, holding in her uplifted hands a bowl, into which the blood and water from the wound made by the soldier in the side of our Saviour were to flow. (V. St. John.) On endeavouring to ascertain how this deception was to be produced, I found that the wood was perforated from the front of the figure to the back, at which it was hollowed out; so that, by the application of a sponge dipped in diluted blood from the altar-piece, or screen,

"After this event," says Muratori, "it seems that the people of Milan, having well examined into the facts, assumed something of a republican form of government, but acknowledging the authority of Henry; and, uniting with theclergy, expedited an ambassador to the king, praying for an archbishop. Since he had repented of having given them Godfrey, he had elected Tedaldus, Subdeacon of Milan, and his chaplain, and sent him to that city. The citizens and clergy received him cheerfully; and, to the scandal of good men, there were now three who had, or pretended to have, a right to the archbishopric: viz. Godfrey, who had been consecrated, and was exiled; Otho, supported and consecrated by Gregory VII., and living at Rome; and Tedaldus, whose consecration the pope did every thing in his power to prevent. The suffragan bishops, however, who were attached to Henry, effected it. This time, at least, the sycophantic followers of Gregory and Erlembaldus were obliged to yield to their opponents.*

Guiscard withdraws from the papal states.

To return, however, to Rome. — Gregory, having assembled about 10,000 men, prepared to march against Robert Guiscard, who was advancing at the head of an army towards the Roman territory. Leo Ostiensis says, that the Norman duke, alarmed at such an appearance of force, retreated, and confined himself to laying siege to

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at which it was to be exhibited, a stream was imperceptibly made to issue from the wounds.

* V. Leo Ostien. in Chron.

Beneventum and Napoli,* which as yet did not belong to him. The Neapolitans, in this dilemma, had recourse to prayers to their patron, St. Januarius; who, faithful to his chosen people, appeared clad in the pontifical habit, and armed at all points, upon the walls, and in the most exposed places, frightening and deterring the enemy.

Geisa, the Hungarian usurper.

At this period Geisa, the Hungarian rebel, who had torn the crown from the brow of Solomon, the legitimate sovereign, recognised by Henry, wrote to Gregory, professing his friendly disposition towards the holy see; and exhorting him to pay no attention to his enemy, who was gone to accuse and calumniate him to his holiness. It would seem as if this letter had been presented to the synod, which was then sitting, and loudly applauded. Gregory charged himself with the answer, and highly eulogised the piety of the usurper. The canons of Lucca were also cited to defend themselves against the charge of having conspired against the life of their bishop, Anselmo. It is necessary to remember, that this prelate, having been driven from the convent of Clugni (according to his panegyrists) by Gregory, and having returned to the care of his church, pretended to oblige the canons to lead a regular and customary life; for which they had endeavoured to murder him. According to some historians, a certain number of these canons were consigned to justice; and Matilda, by special favour, acknowledging them as her subjects, declared them *servants of the court*, a state equivalent to one of slavery. Others, noticing the

Affair of the canons of Lucca.

circumstance as of much later occurrence, relate that Cardinal Peter Igneus, being commissioned by Gregory to Lucca, and shutting himself up with Anselmo in a castle near the city, excommunicated the chapter and all its adherents. The canons then, uniting with the people, raised a formal rebellion, dispersed the troops of Matilda, and, choosing another bishop in the person of the canon Peter, took the side of Henry, and became violent auxiliaries of the antipope Guibert. Gregory, now at the head of an army, no sooner heard of the retreat of Guiscard, than he was on the point of marching towards Constantinople to fight the Saracens, re-unite the Eastern and Western churches, reduce the Armenian dissenters to the Catholic faith; and thence proceeding to Jerusalem, return in triumph to Rome: but the young King Henry was as a thorn in his side, giving him incessant pain. Before he could quit his capital it was necessary to know his intentions, lest disorders should arise in his absence, and he should run the risk of being dethroned and degraded. With this view he wrote, on the 7th of December, a long letter, which is still extant; and which, according to Becchetti, deserves to be recited at full length for the nobleness of its sentiments, which could only emanate from a mind like Gregory's. I shall give a few of the principal passages only. It began by stating, that the pagans had beaten and dispersed the Christians, who required his aid; that it behoved him in no wise to disappoint their hopes; that their sufferings affected him to

Projected march of Gregory to Constantinople.

Letter to Henry.

death; that he was endeavouring, by all means in his power, to excite Christians to this great work; that we are obliged, according to Christ's word, to lay down our own life to save our brother; that his admonitions had been embraced by the Italians and ultramontines; that more than 50,000 men were already united under his orders, and had unanimously hailed him as their captain and pontiff, and wished to go to the holy sepulchre; that the church of Constantinople, hitherto dissentient, desired to be united to that of Rome; that he wished to convert the Armenians; and that the time was come in which the words of Christ ought to be verified—"I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." In short, in this letter Gregory asked advice and assistance in this great enterprise of Henry, to whom, after God, he confided the church of Rome, praying him to guard and defend it; and exhorting him to acquaint him, as speedily as possible, with his resolutions, confiding always in the Holy Spirit, who would dictate to his heart how much he loved him, and desired the prosperity of himself and his empire. The answer of Henry to this letter is unknown; but we may venture to suppose that, having anticipated its object, he failed to gratify it. Gregory either was, or feigned to be, so intent on this gigantic enterprise, that, on the 16th of December, he wrote a circular letter to all the faithful, inviting them to assist him, and take part in his projected incursion. All these mighty threats, and pom-

pous promises and preparations, however, ultimately vanished; and his project was not executed until twenty-four years afterwards, with more mature counsel and sound discretion. His attempt served him as a test for friends and enemies; and, by flattering the hopes of the one, and exciting the fears of the other, procured him reputation, and a foundation for the empire which he meditated, without ever having, in reality, meant to execute what he threatened. He did not, however, forget the disobedience of Godfrey Gobbo, who had retired to Lorena, and not only refused to put himself at the head of the papal army, but to send a single warrior to swell its numbers. The letter he sent to him bears the date of the 13th of April; reproaches him with vacillation; says that, the world being bent upon mischief, no one did good; that if he had obeyed his summons, he might have possessed Sardinia, which he would have yielded to him; and that he would have been as a father to him, if he had been faithful to St. Peter. It is a matter of regret to the historian that the various answers to all these letters have not been preserved: they would have thrown great light upon the most obscure and interesting points, and invested with the character of truth that which, without them, is matter of conjecture and induction. In the course of this year Gregory received letters from the King and Queen of England, in which the Conqueror condoled with him on the death of Alexander II., and congratulated him on his elevation. The pope was not slow in replying

Letter to Godfrey il Gobbo. 1074.

1074. Letter from William the Conqueror to Gregory.

to them; and as (according to Baronius) Henry was a persecutor, Philip a spoliator of the church, Robert Guiscard an invader, and Godfrey of Lorrain a prevaricator, so, said Gregory in his letter to the English king, although he had not comported himself as religiously as he could have desired, still he had not destroyed the church of God, nor sold it; he maintained peace and justice amongst his subjects; and, being continually urged to unite against the Roman church, had constantly refused it; he constrained the priests to quit their wives, laymen to pay tithes to the church, and had shown himself in all other matters more praiseworthy and honourable than other kings. Out of respect to his probity and authority, therefore, he agreed to treat with him on milder terms than with them, and to tolerate the negligence of his subjects. I leave it to the historians of that king, and of the kingdom which he usurped, to decide if these eulogiums be just.

Tumults and wars in the church. 1074.

I pass over the tumults which, at the close of this year, were excited by the monks against the bishops and clergy in every province and kingdom. Synod upon synod, which terminated in blood and internal wars, were for ever provoked under pretence of reforming the church, with the ostensible pretext of satisfying the unbridled ambition of the cloister. Kings, the timid or the malevolent, availed themselves of these disturbances for their own aggrandisement; and no one had the power to restrain them, or open the true path of ecclesiastical reform. Gregory strewed fire and flame where he saw any thing

combustible, and threatened where threatening was of avail. According to him, Henry and Philip were equally infamous; but to attack both at the same time was too difficult and dangerous.

Letter to the King of France.

He wrote, however, to the three archbishops, Manasses of Reims, Richerius of Sens, and Richard of Bruges, deploring the misery of the kingdom of France. "France," says he, "which was once so celebrated and powerful, has fallen from its glory; and the road to depravity having been opened, its virtues have perished, its laws been abandoned, justice contaminated, and every kind of cruelty and crime not only committed with impunity, but vice and licentiousness become habitual. It was but a few years since the royal authority was so diminished, as to find no means of preventing murder, conflagration, and ruin." He then proceeds to enumerate the heinous sins of which the king had been guilty — adultery, rapine, perjury, and fraud; and of having imprisoned some Italian merchants on their road to a fair, and seized all their baggage. He reminded the bishops that, by their silence in not opposing these delinquencies, they became accessories to them, and that, with tears in his eyes, he warned them to beware lest, instead of having the reward of shepherds, they should suffer the penalty awarded to mercenaries; that they could not assign any reason for this their silence and indolence, by which they allowed the prince himself to perish. Moreover, he exhorted them all to look to their own salvation, and that of their country, and to urge every possible remonstrance

with the king to make him uphold the justice, majesty, and honour of the throne. Two months afterwards he wrote another to William, Count of Poitiers, stating, that he had for some time tolerated the iniquities of King Philip, and overlooked the injuries which he had inflicted on the church, in consideration of his youth; but that they were now become so immeasurable and unbridled that he could no longer avoid punishing them, although he were as powerful as the ancient pagan emperors; and he therefore appeals to the court, to unite with him the great lords of France, in endeavouring to convert the king from his evil ways, and make him imitate the example of his predecessors, under pain of excommunication to himself and all who should remain faithful and subservient to him. "Every day," said Gregory, "on the altar of St. Peter shall this terrible sentence be denounced." St. Fleury remarks that these letters produced no visible effect in France; perhaps because Gregory, merely using them as trials of the temper of the people to whom they were addressed, discovered that the bishops and prince were not much disposed to assist him, and waited consequently for some more favourable occasion of launching his thunders against Philip,—an occasion which, fortunately for France, never occurred.*

The last letter which Gregory wrote this year was to the Doge of Venice, inciting him to in- Letter to the Doge of Venice.

* Fleury gives the letter fully, and taxes Gregory as a bold innovator; for which he is reproached by Muzanelli, and other writers, as deficient in faith, and a bad Catholic.

crease the salary of the patriarch of that city; and it begins, as usual, with fulsome compliments to the doge and people, professions of his love for liberty and the republic, and remarks on the great honour which Venice enjoyed in having a patriarch. It then exposes the patriarch's own intention to renounce the dignity which he is unable to sustain, and concludes by desiring to be instantly acquainted with the doge's determination; since he could not allow so high and dignified an office to be debased through poverty.

The reader will, by this time, have discovered how different was the spirit of Gregory from that of his Divine Master; and how striking is the contrast between the humility and gentleness of the one, and the presumption and arrogance of the other!

The excommunication which had issued from the Roman synod against Robert Guiscard was now gathering a storm which threatened desolation. That prince, after withdrawing from the Roman territories, from apprehension of the great army which was collected in the capital, had opened secret communications with Henry and the principal Romans; the existence of which we shall have occasion to observe in the course of the year 1075, when we describe its transactions. It was the undoubted determination of Gregory to drive the Normans out of the south of Italy; but, as his own forces were not adequate to such an enterprise, he sought about for some powerful prince to support him, by means of transferring the investiture from Robert

to a prince of his own selection. After some search, he fixed upon one of the sons of Sueno, King of Denmark, as suitable to his purpose; and, on the return of an embassy which that prince had sent to Alexander II., he wrote him a letter, in which, after reproaching him for his silence and indifference to his friendship, he proceeds to flatter his prudence and wisdom, which exceeded all men's, and intimates that he had sent some apostolical legates to treat concerning the election of a metropolitan in Denmark, and other matters; and winds up his letter by imploring his friendly disposition in case he should have need of any troops, signifying that not far from Rome, along the sea-shore, there was a rich province, the investiture of which (it being at present occupied by a vile race) he might perhaps confer on some one of his sons, who would come with a sufficient number of good soldiers to take possession of it. Jan. 25th, 1075.

Affairs of Hungary.

The vicissitudes which had occurred in Hungary, and the mission which was sent to Rome by the usurper Geisa, recalled, about the same time, the attention of Gregory to this part of Europe. Ever since the year 1064 a convention had existed between Solomon, King of Hungary, and the above-mentioned Geisa, son of the late King Bolla, by which it was stipulated that he and his brother Ladislaus should be content with a small duchy. After ten years of peace, hostilities were recommenced; and the two brothers, assisted by Otho, Duke of Moravia, overthrew the troops of Solomon, who with difficulty saved

himself by flight. Geisa was proclaimed king, and maintained his elevation by force of arms: but Solomon, who was a feudatory of Henry, demanded, and obtained, that monarch's aid in the recovery of his kingdom. Gregory, pretending that Hungary was dependent on the Holy See, which had given the crown and title of king to Stephen (called the apostle of that country), had written in the month of November to Solomon, and hinted his regret to him at his having acknowledged himself a feudatory of the empire instead of the Holy See. Solomon, however, took no notice of his expostulations; and, having received the investiture from Henry, had likewise married that monarch's sister, with whom he lived in great harmony. No sooner did Gregory hear of this circumstance, than he declared himself violently on the side of Geisa. He wrote to congratulate him on his good disposition towards the Roman church, and exhorted him to interest himself deeply in all the religious concerns of his kingdom. At the same time he wrote to Solomon, reprimanding him for the slowness of his reply, which would have been more satisfactory had he not interfered with the rights of St. Peter; that he might know from his ancestors that the kingdom of Hungary was the property of the church, offered as a gift to St. Peter, with any right belonging to it, by St. Andrew; and that Henry of blessed memory, having afterwards subdued it, offered the lance and crown to St. Peter: that he, departing from the example of his ancestors, had alienated it as

much as he could, and taken it for the benefit of the Teutonic kings; and that if he wished to reign, he must restore the rights of the Apostle. Thus, totally indifferent as to which of the two kings might reign, he cared only about the pretended rights of his see. He wrote also to Judith, the wife of Solomon and daughter of the Empress Agnes, in a soft and consolotary tone, exhorting her to show a great mind in her adversity, and bear her losses with composure. He also wrote to comfort the mother, who complained bitterly of her daughter's misfortune. Fine letters are but paltry compensations for the loss of a kingdom. Solomon, assisted by the arms of Henry, fought in vain for the recovery of his throne, of which his rival remained constantly in possession.

England, Spain, and Hungary were now governed by kings placed or upheld there by Gregory. In Italy he counted on the great Lady Matilda, as being completely subject to him; and, by threats and artifice, having gradually erected himself into a universal judge and ecumenical bishop, he became sole arbiter of people and of kings.

Letter to Demetrius, King of Muscovy.

Of the many provinces which now compose the vast empire of Russia, little was then known to the princes of Christendom. Missionaries, sent from Constantinople, were scattered up and down its wide extent. A terrible insurrection had lately occurred, in which the sovereign was deposed and put to flight. His brother held the reins of government. Demetrius, such was the name of

the exiled prince, retiring into Poland, had excited the commiseration of Duke Boleslaus, and induced him to take arms in his defence. But Boleslaus, in conducting the war, turned every thing to his own account, and cared little or nothing for the afflicted Demetrius; who could recover only a sum of money lent him to put the troops in motion. Having then had recourse to Henry, and being coldly received, he applied anew to Gregory, by means of his son, whom he sent to Rome, with orders to receive from the pope the investiture and crown. This was a politic device to obtain the protection of spiritual, if he could not obtain that of temporal, arms. On the 17th of April, 1075, the pontiff accordingly wrote to Demetrius, apprising him of the measures taken by his son, his acceptance of his terms, and his desire to assist him in his wishes; and prayed him, moreover, to listen favourably to the insinuations of certain apostolic legates whom he would send to him. On the 25th of the same month he wrote to Boleslaus, and sent legates to thank him for his wonted oblations to St. Peter; conjured him to compose the ecclesiastical affairs of his kingdom, to increase the number of sees, and restore the money of which he had robbed Demetrius.

Let us now go back awhile to the events of the year 1074.* In that year Gregory presided at a council, in which certain bishops were reinstated, and others excommunicated. Guarnerius,

* There seems to be some inaccuracy or confusion with regard to this second council in the year 1074; for I can find

Bishop of Argentina, being one of those reinstated, after having been excommunicated by Alexander II., was returning from Rome to his diocese, when he was arrested on his road by the people of Matilda, and taken to prison. This princess, perhaps discontented with the pope for having suspended the excommunication against the Lombard bishops, had returned to her dominions, and taken occasion of this arrest to write to the pontiff, reproving him for his connivance and moderation. The poor princess was not acute enough to penetrate into Gregory's policy; and, armed with holy zeal, she taxed with indulgence the most sanguinary amongst the shepherds of the church. Gregory, surprised at such a novelty, suddenly wrote an apology, showing that Guarnerius was absolved on account of his repentance; that he had not desired to give his post to another for fear of meeting with a worse; that the daughter of St. Peter would soon repent of the affront offered to one recommended by the pope, or rather by St. Peter himself—he, the pope, having given him letters of recommendation; that she must not let it be supposed that, whilst she wished to prevent assassinations, she committed them herself; that she must release him, and send him in safety to Erlembaldus, who would provide for the rest; that he had remitted

no notice taken of two distinct councils held in that year. For this reason I omit it in my enumeration of the councils held at Rome under Gregory, in which I have followed the Abbé Langlet du Fresnoy, and the "Art de vérifier les Dates."

nothing to the bishops of Lombardy but the right of confirming, in order not to render them desperate; that, after the example of St. Peter, who satisfied the apostles when they murmured against him, so she should satisfy them for his doings; that he knew that the opinions of men respecting him were various, some calling him cruel, and others gentle; but that he derided them all, and only rendered his account to God. Thus gently he reproved the over-zealous Matilda; and thus we see in what domestic intimacy he lived with her, whilst he feared lest her actions should be mistaken for his own.

Visitors sent to the churches in the vicinity

Towards the 1st of January, Gregory sent the Abbots of St. Boniface and St. Saba as visitors to the churches and provinces in the vicinity of Rome, and wrote pastoral letters to all, directing the separation of the priests from their wives, and the destruction of simony. He wrote also to Rodolphus, Duke of Suabia, and Bertoldus, Duke of Lorentano, to the same effect, with regard to their clergy; and to Ugo, Abbot of Clugni, communicating his distress at the defalcation, through some diabolical instinct, of the Eastern church from the Catholic faith, — at the ancient enemy going about destroying Christians, — and that, in the north and south, there was not a bishop to be seen who was not influenced by ambition and the love of dominion, — that secular princes preferred their individual interests to the love of God, — that the Romans, Lombards, and Normans were often worse than pagans, — and that, were it not for the hope of an amelioration,

Letter to Ugo, Abbot of Clugni.

he would no longer abide at Rome, as he had done for twenty years. To that end, he entreated him to exhort and admonish all those whom he knew to be friends of St. Peter to be faithful and good soldiers to him, and not to hold secular princes in more estimation than himself; since they only promised a wretched and transitory life, whilst he, by absolution, could give them one blessed and eternal. It would appear from this letter that Ugo did not go to Rome, according to invitation; although his historian represents him as performing miracles on the road from Clugni thither. It is one of the great miseries of Catholicism to be obliged to peruse, in the lives of their saints, all the fictions and extravagancies which abound in them, under the pretext of promoting piety and religion, at the expense of truth and virtue. He wrote again also to Sancius, King of Aragon, refusing his approbation to a certain person whom he had chosen as a successor to Sancius, the bishop of that province, whom he wished to depose by reason of his infirmities. Gregory desired to give him a priest's son as a coadjutor, instead of a successor; from which we may learn how rapidly his ideas of reform were increasing, and his pretensions becoming daily more enlarged. Alexander II., when he excommunicated married priests, promised that their sons should be promoted in the church: Gregory refused even this.

Letter to Sancius, King of Aragon.

It would be impossible to repeat the contents of all the letters which, in a thousand different guises and with countless arguments, this pontiff

wrote, with unwearied assiduity and patience.* There was not a bishop in the whole Catholic world whom, if he failed in obedience, he did not reprove, threaten, suspend, or degrade; not one whom, if he obeyed, he did not invite to Rome, and make an accomplice in his enterprises. He had his monks, who flew from one corner of Europe to another, intermeddling in the councils, condemning, persecuting, and destroying priests. On this account, all the cardinals and bishops promoted by Gregory had previously been monks; and not unfrequently he made monks on purpose to promote and invest them. It may frankly and correctly be said, that the papacy of Gregory was a campaign between the regular and secular clergy, for the destruction and annihilation of the latter†; and thus, the holy institutions of pious and devout men became, in the hands of the old enemy, formidable

* "The style adopted by Gregory is, agreeably to the characteristics of his mind, bold, vigorous, and impressive. On a former occasion, speaking of his epistles, preserved in nine books, I said, "With their perusal I have been often disgusted; for, by the side of the imposing language of piety and Christian zeal, we, at every page, meet with sentiments, and the undisguised exposition of views, such as must have fallen from the lips, and have been entertained by the minds, of men whose ruling passion was ambition, and whose object was the subjugation of nations. To effect this favourite purpose,—to increase the jurisdiction of Rome, and to bend the refractory to his side,—not only Italy, but Germany and other states, were convulsed; and it may be truly said, during the nearly twelve long years of his pontificate, that the double sword of extermination, which he claimed, was never sheathed."—*Berington's Literary History of the Middle Ages.*

† "Secular is more particularly used for a person who

instruments to vex and harass the church militant of Jesus Christ.

The time was now arrived for the assembling of the new council, to which the pontiff had invited many German prelates, friends of King Henry, and the famous Annone, Bishop of Cologne, who, in trying to carry the papal decrees into execution, had nearly lost his life. The English bishops were also cited, and a vast number of clergy, of all grades and from all parts, and under various pretences. His panegyrists assert, that the fatigue of so extensive a correspondence was so great that he fell ill, and was miraculously restored to health. On his recovery, he wrote to Matilda complaining of it, since he wished to have found himself in Paradise; instead of which he was recalled to his former cares and troubles, with the same inability to preserve the church from shipwreck. He then added, "Know, moreover, that Robert Guiscard has sent me frequent supplicatory letters, offering to place himself in my hands; but I have not, for certain reasons, as yet accepted his offer." Ignorant of the resources of that crafty conqueror, he still hoped, perchance, to overcome him by excommunications or arms.

Previously, however, to these events a coun-

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lives at liberty in the world, not shut up in a monastery, nor bound by vows, or subjected to the particular rules of any religious community, in which sense it stands opposed to regular. The Romish clergy are divided into secular and regular, of which the latter are bound by monastic rules, the former not." — *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Second council at Rome, 1075.

cil was held at Rome, on the 24th February, 1075, the acts of which are lost. It may be collected from the letters of Gregory, that the excommunication against Robert Guiscard was confirmed, and many bishops and priests suspended and degraded. Erimannus of Bamberga proceeding to this synod, thinking to propitiate the pontiff, sent forward, as he approached the capital, some messengers laden with presents for Gregory: but gold was not the object of this pope, and the bishop prejudiced his own interests by this conduct. On his arrival, he was refused permission to return to his church unless he would take the cowl. Restored to his own country, full of anger and malice, he persecuted the clergy who had so intimidated him when at Rome, stripped them of their benefices, and, out of hatred to Gregory, nearly caused some to be put to death. This violent conduct excited the indignation of the Roman pontiff, who wrote to Henry entreating him to depose and restrain so vindictive an enemy. Henry assented; and Erimannus, discovering no other mode of maintaining himself in his bishopric than by recovering Gregory's favour, made himself a monk. He set off for Rome with his abbot, and was immediately reinstated. It was Gregory's policy to humiliate and depress, rather than to destroy. The foe that is annihilated is like the cloud which passeth by and leaves no trace of its existence: the enemy that is allowed to survive defeat, prolongs, by his own ignominy, his adversary's honour.

Affair of Erimannus, Bishop of Bamberga.

The most remarkable act of this council was the decree concerning investitures. On this Muratori thus expresses himself:—"This most zealous pontiff (Gregory) prohibited, under pain of excommunication, the investiture of bishoprics and abbacies, which the king gave to ecclesiastics by handing them the ring and crozier. This novelty had been introduced for some years; and by becoming dependent on the will of temporal sovereigns, who in those days were men of depraved conscience, the collation of churches and ecclesiastical benefices had opened a wide door to simony. Kings, in fact, conferred them on those who had purchased them by a servile attendance at court, or by flattery, or, still more frequently, by gifts and gold; and the churches consequently fell into the hands of unworthy persons, to the great neglect of the meritorious."

Decree concerning investitures.

In these observations, the great Italian annalist seems to have forgotten that, by the customs of these times, the bishops were elected by the people and approved of by the king, and the abbots chosen from among the monks, as we have had occasion to observe frequently in the course of this history. The simony so much complained of by the pontiff was nothing more than presents given to the ministers of the crown for expediting the bulls. Ugo Flavionacensis attributes this decree to an entirely different motive. He says, that Gregory asserted that Christ was the only gate by which to enter the

fold; that that doctrine had been preached by the apostles, observed by the holy fathers, written in every page of sacred lore, and that, therefore, it was a prevarication for the gifts of kings to prevail in the election of bishops; and that Gregory, assisted by his bishops and a vast multitude of priests and abbots, prohibited any one in future from presuming to follow that custom, under pain of excommunication. The concluding terms of the decree were as follows:— "If any one in future shall receive any bishopric or abbey from the hands of any layman, he shall not be counted in the number of bishops or abbots, or have audience conceded to him as a bishop or abbot. Moreover, we interdict to him the grace of St. Peter and admission to the church until he shall have abandoned the place which he holds culpably through ambition and disobedience, which is the sin of idolatry. We establish the same observances with respect to other inferior ecclesiastical dignities. In like manner, if any of the emperors, dukes, marquisses, counts, of any secular rank whatever, shall presume to give the investiture of bishoprics, or any ecclesiastical dignities, let him know that he subjects himself to the same sentence." —"But," says Muratori *, "this decree appearing to diminish too much the authority which monarchs had usurped, became the spark which kindled a fatal war between the priesthood and

* Ann. d' Italia, ann. 1075.

the empire.* Early in the year, Henry, uncertain of the issue of the war which he had undertaken against the Saxons, wrote letters of submission and good will to the pope; but no sooner had he terminated it successfully, than he began to be loud in his complaints against the Holy See. He directed his arms then, in the present year, against the inhabitants of Saxony and Thuringia; and after having managed so well with promises and flattery, that he had drawn to his side the chief princes of Germany, — that is, Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, Godfrey Gobbo, Duke of Lorena, and Bertoldus, Duke of Carinthia, — towards the middle of July a sanguinary battle ensued between the two armies; and though the victory was for some time doubtful, the Saxons were finally broken, with great loss to the royal army, in which a number of the Bavarian and Suabian nobility perished. Twenty thousand persons are said to have been left on the field of battle. It was this success which caused Henry, previously so docile, to change his tone, and assume an air of contempt for the pontifical court, — admitting to his own all the excommunicated ministers. The Saxons, meanwhile, left no means untried to obtain peace and mercy from the king, whose wrath had increased with his good fortune, and who meditated

* V. Denina Revoluzioni d'Italia, vol. ii. lib. ix. cap. v. p. 324., for a very clear and comprehensive dissertation on the origin of the disputes as to investitures.

nothing short of their complete slavery and ruin. To effect their extermination he proposed a new expedition, in which was associated with him Godfrey, Duke of Lorena, who brought a select body of men, equal to the rest of the king's army: the other dukes, however, who were in the former campaign, refused the king the succour he demanded, pretending that all the blood spilt in the last battle had been spilt in vain; being indignant, besides, at the cruel and implacable disposition of Henry, which was not to be assuaged either by the tears of the Saxons, or the torrents of blood which had been shed on the plains of Thuringia. They interfered, nevertheless, in procuring peace with such effect, that the Saxons submitted to the terms of the king, who banished the majority of their chiefs and barons, and treated the remainder still worse." This sapient writer has treated the subject of the investitures a little too lightly; apprehensive, perhaps, lest the impulse of truth should make him say too much. Becchetti, sustained by the authority of Cardinal Noris, takes the side of Gregory; and, after saying that investitures should not be confounded with the feudal rights of the empire, as they did not derive their origin from royal largesses, thus expresses himself: — "We shall not be far from the truth, if we assign the origin of investitures to the political system which was introduced by the barbarous nations of Europe. We know that in that system the bishops and abbots were the grandees of the kingdom, who had a right to attend the council of the nation, to decide

Opinion of Becchetti as to investitures.

upon the most interesting matters and causes, and to frame such laws as the circumstances of the times might require. Being unable to deny that, as investitures had been permitted for a long series of years, they had acquired some reasonable foundation, we do not see to what we can more probably ascribe them than to the above-named system. After the legitimate election by the clergy and people, this right of the grandees of the kingdom was conferred by the prince on the bishops and abbots by means of investiture. In fact, as Cardinal Noris wisely observes, investitures may be considered of two sorts; the one, that which was conferred by the prince upon a prelate who was already elected canonically, and by the full voice of the clergy and people; and who then presented himself to the prince to receive it from him, by the collation of the ring and crozier; and was subsequently consecrated by his metropolitan and the colleges. The other, that which the prince conferred of his own private judgment, without waiting for a free and canonical election, compelling the clergy and people to accept, and the primate to consecrate him. — Supposing, therefore, this first kind of investiture, which certainly appears to be founded upon the incontrovertible facts which we have enumerated, although the freedom of the sacred elections was not violated; still the zeal of the pontiffs, and the remarkable men of those days, could have had nothing to do with it, since it was then almost entirely abolished. So also, when the

second kind was introduced, and it was pretended that it was conducive to simony, and led to the conferring of benefices and churches on those who best knew how to replenish the royal coffers, the pontiffs thought only of maintaining the liberty of the sacred elections, and restraining simony. We have, in the proper place, given an account of the decrees of the pontiffs Leo IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., which were designed to eradicate these abuses; but, since Gregory VII. saw that all his exertions were not sufficient to extirpate the evil which, under the name of investitures, continued to restrain the freedom of the sacred elections, he determined, finally, to put the axe to the root, and to prohibit the investitures themselves. The pretext of this bishop, in excuse of Gregory's policy, was not deserving of neglect, and I have therefore reported it: but how much more appropriately might he have observed, that, if the investitures depended upon the popes, a great part of the bishops and abbots, who were then the most active ministers of princes and sovereigns, would have depended on them too; and thus they would, with impunity, have extended their dominion, and regulated at their will all the polity of Europe! *

* There never was any question of the princes depriving the people of their right to elect a bishop. The prince only pretended to give his approval to the person elected, that he might in reality be worthy of his high charge. The Cardinal Noris, therefore, indirectly condemns Gregory for his extravagant pretensions, which ultimately reduced the people to that state of slavery and insignificance in which they still continue.

Gregory, discontented with the news from Saxony, communicated the proceedings of the synod to the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Magdeburg, the Bishop of Mayence, and the principal cities of Germany, to promulgate them in their respective dioceses. The Bishop of Mayence, who was the first to obey, was nearly murdered by the married priests; and he prudently determined to abandon any interference in such matters for the future, although he excommunicated the princes of Thuringia for disturbing him in the collection of his tithes. This excommunication, pronounced without hearing their defence, and for the purpose of exciting the soldiers of Henry to fight against them, displayed him to the pontiff as a partisan of the king and a traitor to himself. Gregory, however, dissembled for a time, and applauded Henry for his piety in persecuting the married priests and simonists, and for his good feeling towards the church. Henry, in return, sent legates to Gregory to sue for peace, and assure him that when the Saxons were conquered, he would expedite others for the regulation of their affairs. He had not then given battle; and was temporising, in order to avert, as much as possible, the formidable displeasure of the pontiff. These embassies were all mysterious and equivocal, resting upon generalities, opposing artifice to artifice, with the hope of better times. Gregory replied, that on the arrival of his letter he was absent from Rome, and apologised for the unavoidable delay of his an-

Letters of Gregory to the bishops of Germany.

Letter of Gregory to Henry.

swer; that he was desirous of peace and alliance; that he wished to open the bosom of the church and be united to his son; congratulated him on his victory, lamented the loss of so much Christian blood, and exhorted him to substitute some other bishop in the room of Erimannus.

Letter to the King of Denmark.

He wrote also again to the King of Denmark, saying that it was customary for the Roman pontiff to teach all nations the way of the Lord, to correct and invite them to eternal happiness; and that the law of the Roman pontiff had filled more kingdoms than that of the Roman emperors. He offered him the office for the church of Denmark, such as had been promised by Alexander, and invited him to send legates to treat on these and other matters. He flattered distant and intimidated neighbouring potentates, to extend his own dominion over both.

Whilst, however, the pontiff was thus profitably exercising his ideal supremacy over distant nations, he was not in perfect security at home.

Conspiracy of Cencius.

A certain Cencius, the son of Stephen, formerly Prefect of Rome, had been excommunicated for interfering with the goods of the church. He was a man powerful, violent, and elated by his nobility, connections, and wealth. His vast possessions were scattered all over Italy; and the recollection that his ancestors, thirty or forty years ago, had all been counts, prefects, and patricians of Rome, would not allow him to endure with patience the monkish influence and absolute authority which Gregory had assumed. He was intimately acquainted and held a secret

correspondence with Robert Guiscard. He paid court to Henry, and sent ambassadors to Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, while still living, and the declared enemy of Gregory and his wife Matilda. This last prince, who was guilty of no other crime than that of siding with his king, and fighting for him, had vainly endeavoured to open negotiations for a re-union with his consort. He always found Gregory to be an insurmountable obstacle, appearing upon every occasion, and under every pretext, as the protector and defender of that princess. Cencius, thus supported by so many important personages, and excited by the instigations of Guibertus, Archbishop of Ravenna, who was aspiring to the papacy, and with that view tarrying at Rome, the night before the Nativity entered the fortress of the Castle of St. Angelo with a body of troops, collected in Tuscany and Viterbo, and the vicinity of Rome.* On Christmas-day, whilst the pope was celebrating mass in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, he broke into the sacred edifice at the head of his troops, dispersed the clergy and congregation, and dragged Gregory into one of his towers, said by some to be the same Castle of St. Angelo, then called the tower of Crescentius; but which I suppose to have been another, placed at the head of the bridge, which then went by the name of "Ponterotto." I embrace this opinion the more willingly, that I may avoid taxing with falsehood all the ecclesiastical pane- 1075.

* Manenti, Storia d' Orvieto.

gyrists and writers, who omit to state that this tower was sacked and destroyed by the people; whilst the mausoleum of Adrian, or the Castle of St. Angelo, could not have been so easily, and never was, razed, as every thing shows. The houses of the Crescenzi were placed in that part of the city which is nearest the capitol, and thickly peopled, and served three hundred years later as a fortress to Cola di Rienzi, the tribune of the Roman people.* This audacious and profligate attempt excited horror and compassion in the heart of every citizen; and, at the break of day, a party of nobles, at the head of the people, laid siege to the rock of Cencius with fire and battering rams, and other warlike engines. Some writers affirm, that the assault completely succeeded; and that, the rock being destroyed, Cencius obtained his life from the pope.† From the account of Lambertus and others we collect that Cencius retired, with a part of his troops, from the tower, after a vigorous resistance. The liberated pope returned to the church to finish

* Vita di Cola di Rienzi.—"I have mentioned a sepulchre of Pontius Pilate at Vienne, in Dauphiné. His palace is at Rome, if you believe tradition; and a very curious palace it must have been, whimsically made up with fragments of better times. The edifice has been more reasonably supposed the habitation of Rienzi, tribune of the people in the fourteenth century; whose curious history you have read in Gibbon. The authority for this is an inscription, which states it to have been erected by Nicholas, son of Crescentius and Theodora."— *Wood's Letters from an Architect, from France, Italy, and Greece*, vol. i. p. 350. London, 2 vols. 4to. 1828.

† Biondo, Historia; Becchetti, Storia Ecclesiastica.

the mass which he had begun; and then bestowed his utmost attention in persecuting the opposite faction, and repressing the rebellion. Of the many relations and supporters of Cencius who had fallen into his hands, he put some to death, and others he caused to be mutilated, as a wretched spectacle for the pious multitude. The battle, nevertheless, raged for some days in the neighbourhood of Rome; and, although a great portion of the nobility retired from the city and followed the fortunes of the prefect, he was obliged to fly to the dominions of the King of Germany, to whom he presented himself at the council of Worms, in company with one of his prisoners, a bishop. Bertoldus of Costanza relates, that this papal rebel repaired, in 1077, to Pavia, and then died suddenly. All his possessions in Rome were destroyed and confiscated, and his family extirpated by persecution and affliction.

Cencius retires into Germany.

Amid these scenes of tumult and bloodshed, Gregory had the mortification of seeing some of his bishops and cardinals surrounding him as a permanent council, amongst the number of his enemies; amongst them Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, and Ugo, Cardinal Bianco, whom he had recalled from Spain for his ignorance and ill conduct. Amongst the Roman nobility, besides the Crescenzi family, was a certain Peter Leo, a man of immense fortune, who, being originally a Jew, had been converted to Christianity. This name is discernible in the tumults and wars of the Romans against the popes in the following years. The enraged and afflicted pontiff libe-

rated the Archbishop Guibert, and left him his possessions; and, dissembling his anger against the most powerful until a more fitting opportunity should allow him to indulge it, was fain to be content with a few ears and noses, which he caused to be cut off in the first moments of his excitement. Whilst he was applying his whole attention to the next council, which he had summoned for the second festival of the second week in Lent, it was reported to him that Henry no longer held secret correspondence with the schismatics (for so he called the bishops and princes whom he had excommunicated), but openly and unblushingly opposed him; elated at the sight of the Saxons, whom he had subdued, and the Normans, who were quarrelling with each other, and were the great enemies of Gregory, and of a vast number of bishops and cardinals who were leagued in his cause. It was high time boldly to confront an enemy who gave him no repose, either from the pen or the sword, and repress, if it were possible, the innovations which he was making on the church of God: for, although this prince was not one of the most religious or persevering in his enterprises, he was not deficient in ability or valour, and exhibited in his misfortunes and crosses a wonderful fortitude and patience.

Conduct of Gregory to his prisoners.

Henry openly quarrels with the pope.

At this unexpected intelligence Gregory was neither dismayed nor humbled. By means of his legates he sent three letters to the Teutonic king, in the month of January, 1076; in the first of which he invited him to go to Rome, and excul-

pate himself before the council which was about to meet, under pain of being instantly excommunicated for contumacy. In the second he writes thus:—"Gregory, servant of the servants of God, health and apostolic blessing to King Henry; if albeit he shall obey the apostolic see, as becometh a Christian king." In the course of the letter he reproves him for his trangressions, and orders him to confess and repent, threatening him with the displeasure of the council.

The sacred annals have not preserved the answer of the king; but we know that, instigated by Guibertus and Cencius, he notified the assembling of a great council at Worms, to which all his bishops and partisans were invited. The anonymous author of the life of Henry, and of that of Gregory, published by Reiner in 1581, says, that St. Annone, Archbishop of Cologne, who figured so conspicuously in the preceding years, was present with all his suffragans: but Baronius rails bitterly against Reiner, and says that his book is a gross forgery, having clearly proved that Annone was then dead. To avoid discussion, I follow the account of Paulus Benriedensis, the most imbecile of all legend writers, and the greatest panegyrist of Gregory. In matters relating to Henry he writes with occasional energy and vigour, on which account I select him as my guide, fully persuaded that there is no book, however insipid, which does not contain some information. "These events," says he, "being communicated to Gregory, did not

Council of Worms.

a little disturb him, and he was greatly agitated at the interruption of peace: he straightway mentioned what had been announced to him by his legates to his faithful friends, who wondered, at first, at the violated pledges of Henry, and decided that stronger letters must be written to prove that the Roman see was neither to be frightened nor cajoled; and letters accordingly were written to Beatrice and Matilda, who governed almost all Italy, to the king, and to the usurper of Milan, and his suffragans."

"Then King Henry, seized with great sorrow and grief, was worked to and fro, and called together wicked counsellors, some of whom stepping forth, artfully proposed, that the honour of the kingdom left him by his father, his free judgment, immense riches, his multitude of soldiers, fortresses, bishops, dukes, tyrants, and princes, who were bound in fidelity to him; and the necks of the proud legates who bore his yoke; the churches, which he had consigned with his own hands, and every thing of worldly greatness, were lost. Amongst these counsellors was the Bishop of Mayence, with all his suffragans. Amongst them they drew up a convention, by which it was provided that all the bishops of the kingdom should assemble and subscribe an imperial constitution, and hurl themselves against the Vicar of St. Peter; that any one who deserted should be deprived of all his goods, judged guilty of high treason, and be beheaded. The messengers being despatched, a certain cardinal, Ugo Bianco, who for the third time was a rebel, and the

head of the schismatic bishops, left Rome to join the king; and, praising his expedition against the pope, produced letters in the name of all the cardinals, and the senate, and Roman people, in which certain proclamations were contained, with a demand for a new, and the deposition of the present, pope.

"On the receipt of this news the king rejoiced greatly, and set about accomplishing his design. The accusations being proved, the pope was excommunicated. Messengers were sent to the bishops of Lombardy for them to superscribe the sentence, which they did in an assembly at Pavia. They swore upon the Gospels that they would never again recognise Gregory as pope; and made others do the same. King Henry wrote to Rome desiring the pope to abdicate, and calling him a perjured usurper, the detractor of real dignity, and the fellow-labourer of the simonists of Lombardy; that is, of the partisans of Erlembaldus. They resolved that their proceedings should be made known to the council which was then sitting; and, accordingly, a certain clerk of Parma had the audacity to present himself before it, and announce the royal blasphemy. At the close of the hymn, when the pope was about to sit down, he intimated his deposition to him. This insane clerk was called Rolandus. The pope then, with the simplicity of the dove, interfered, to prevent him from being slain; to which the holy synod replied—'Let thy censure, O most holy father! whom the Divine clemency raised up to govern the church in these times, pronounce such a sentence against

the blasphemer, invader, tyrant, and deserter, as shall abase him, and be an example against transgression for the future. Worthy is it to obey and follow thy ordinances.' It was at length unanimously agreed that Henry should be deprived of royal honours, and excommunicated, with all his followers." This narration of Paulus Benriedensis differs from every other. He passes over the letters which Rolandus bore from the king to Gregory, but of which I shall make some mention. Henry, after having announced the above-named assembly at Worms, had written a circular to all the bishops, saying, that Hildebrand having intruded himself into the Holy See, arrogated to himself the kingdom and the priesthood, and pretended to take these two powers out of the world into his own hands, and that, on this account, he hated him mortally; that, if he had acknowledged that he held his kingdom from him, he should have been stripped of it; that he had imprisoned his ambassadors, and inflicted on them a thousand cruelties. The diet having assembled, and pronounced the excommunication and deposition of Gregory, every bishop subscribed the formula, saying, "I, Bishop of ———, from this time forth, renounce all subordination and obedience to Hildebrand, whom I will no longer call or believe to be apostolic." They afterwards wrote a letter to Gregory, charging him with injuries, perjury, innovations, and all kinds of infamy, denying that they ever had been, or ever would be, obedient to him; for that he was a simonist, an impostor, a magician, and a corrupter of scrip-

tural meanings. This letter was accompanied by one from Henry, commencing thus: "Henry, not by usurpation, but by Divine dispensation, king, to Hildebrand, not an apostolic, but a false monk. Having, even in spite of my subjects, conducted myself as a most obedient son, whilst I expected to receive from you the treatment becoming a father, I have received only such as might have proceeded from the implacable enemy of my life and kingdom. You have taken from me that hereditary dignity of emperor which was due to me from the apostolic see; by the most villanous acts, you have attempted to alienate from me the kingdom of Italy; you have proudly, and in the face of every law, human and divine, heaped insults and injuries upon the most reverend bishops who are united to me as members to the body: and although I have borne all these affronts with unspeakable patience, attributing my conduct to tameness and indifference, you have raised yourself up against me, and given me to understand that it is necessary either that you should die, or that I should lose my life and kingdom. Wherefore, thinking it more fitting to reply by deeds rather than words to such an unheard-of act of contumacy, those matters have been published in a general assembly of the great lords of my kingdom, which, out of respect, have hitherto been suppressed; and it is plainly demonstrated that you can no longer maintain yourself by any means in the chair of St. Peter. It being, therefore, my bounden duty to adhere to this decision, I take from you all right to the

papacy, and I command you to depart from that city, the patricianship of which has been granted to me both by God and by the Romans." This letter, accompanied by the admonition, and by a second, in which the pope was treated as a simple individual, by the name of Hildebrand, was enclosed in a third from Henry himself to the Romans, communicating to them the resolutions of the Diet of Worms. They are instigated no longer to acknowledge him as pope, and not to kill him, in order to prolong a painful existence.* At the head of the legation entrusted with these letters was the above-named Rolandus, who made so much haste that he arrived in Rome at the opening of the appointed synod. Rolandus, after proclaiming publicly that Gregory was no longer pope, entered slowly into the church of St. John Lateran, where the assembly was held, and, presenting the packet to the pontiff, called upon him in a loud voice that instant to descend from the throne of St. Peter; and then turning to the clergy, ordered them to proceed to court for the Pentecost, and receive from the king a true pope, the present being a wolf. Upon this John, Bishop of Porto, immediately rose, and called out for the rash intruder to be arrested; which order the Prefect of Rome proceeded with his soldiery to execute. The pope, however, considering him as a legate, and foreseeing how much credit would be attached to the assertions of Henry did he happen to be killed, interfered

Rolandus before the synod.

Third Roman council, 1076.

* Becchetti, Stor. Ecc.; Baronius, Ann. Ecc. — Vit. Enrici III. Imp.

in his behalf, and saved him from the fury of the bishops and soldiers. The matter being soon known to the council, and the pontiff being encouraged by the assistance of Beatrice and Matilda, and the feelings (with which he was well acquainted) of the most considerable princes of Germany, declared Henry IV. to be excommunicated and deposed from his kingdom, and all his subjects absolved from their oaths of allegiance; a proceeding which, although it had never been practised by any of his predecessors, was considered to be both just and necessary in the present crisis:—thus, at least, writes that learned annalist, who, under a tolerably transparent veil, sometimes developes the truth. Becchetti goes farther. After having described the scandalous scene between Rolandus and the council, he relates that the holy father addressed the assembly, and explained every thing which he had hitherto done to induce Henry to restore liberty to the church, and abolish simony; and exhorted the synod to prepare for that war which was inevitable, and still to shed their blood, should circumstances require it, in support of the truth. A short time before a stone had been found near the church of St. Peter, representing a serpent armed with a spear and shield, and which in the act of striking at an egg, also of stone, was obliged to coil back its head, which alone received any injury from the blow. The pope applied this circumstance to the present event, and said that it was a sign of what was going to occur; adding, that it was necessary to unsheath the sword of

Speech of Gregory to the synod.

the Word in order to break the head of the serpent, and to avenge the honour of the church. The synod fully approved this resolution; and it was unanimously decreed that Henry should be deposed, and, with all his supporters, excluded from the communion of the church. This last anecdote of the serpent tempts me to treat as calumnious all the accusations of Bennone (against Gregory), who, as I have elsewhere hinted, attributes to him all the superstitions of the pagan mythology.

On the following day, the synod re-assembling, the letters which had been received from Germany were read; and the pope pronounced the sentence of excommunication, as follows:—"St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, lend us your ears, and listen to your servant whom you have cherished from his infancy, and delivered out of the hands of those who have a common enmity to him and you. And you, mother of God! St. Paul, and all the saints bear witness, how the holy Roman church raised me by force, and against my will, to the government; although I should have preferred rather to pass my days in a continual pilgrimage than to ascend thy pulpit for any human motive. Inasmuch as I think that it will be grateful to you that the Christian people trusted to my care should obey me; supported by these hopes, and for the honour and the defence of the church, in the name of the omnipotent God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by my authority and power, I prohibit King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who,

Sentence of excommunication against Henry.

with unheard-of pride, has raised himself up against your church, from governing the kingdoms of Germany and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oath which they have taken to him; and I forbid all men to yield him that service which is due to a king. Finally, since he has not chosen to obey as becomes a Christian; has communicated with persons excluded from the communion of the faithful; has despised the warnings which I had given him for the good of his own soul; and has separated himself from the church, whilst he endeavoured to exterminate her authority; I, in thy name, bind him with the bonds of anathema, that all people may know that thou art Peter, and that upon thee the Son of God hath built his church, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail."

Fleury inveighs indirectly against the absurd innovation of releasing subjects from their oaths, and of declaring a sovereign to be dethroned. Cardinal Noris, in his "History of Investitures," pretends that this ought not to be understood as a deposition from the throne. Every one, however, will discern for himself the extravagance of this decree, and the inverted sense of the scriptural text; by which Peter is made to appear as the corner-stone of the church, instead of Christ, as is the case in almost every page of the New Testament. Paul Sarpi, in his "History of the Council of Trent," mentioning the excommunication, thus expresses himself: — "Jesus Christ said, If a brother will not listen after the third correction, let him be as a heretic

Origin of excommunications.

and a publican; that is, let him not be considered as belonging to the faith, nor to the Christian, but Pagan society." He forbore to say, that, alienated from the intercourse with mankind, he ought to perish either by the sword or misery. In this sense St. Paul himself spoke, when he said that the incorrigible ought to be separated from the church, whilst its members were so few and the Pagans were so many. Gregory, however, on this and other occasions, seems to have prohibited them the use of fire and water, in the manner of the ancient Romans; and, not satisfied with that, permitted them also to be persecuted by the sword.*

At this council also Ugo, Cardinal Bianco, Otho, Bishop of Ratisbon, Otho of Constance, Burcardus of Lausanne, Count Eberard, Ulderic, and many others, intimate courtiers of the king, were specially excommunicated. The three protectresses of the church, the Empress Agnes, Matilda, and Beatrice, allied themselves very closely to Gregory, and interposed their mediation between him and the king.

The acts of excommunication were announced by the pope to all the faithful, and such as wished to be numbered in the flock confided by Jesus Christ to St. Peter, in these terms: — "Hear, O brethren, the new and unheard-of

* Mosheim, in a passage too long for quotation, deduces, in a great degree, the pre-eminence acquired by the early pontiffs, and the practice of excommunication, from the druidical system prevalent in Europe before the establishment of Christianity. — Ecclesiastical Hist. cent. viii part. ii. ch. ii. p. 227. (vol. i. 1825. London).

presumption and wickedness of the schismatics and blasphemers of St. Peter: hear the insul and injury offered to the Holy See, such as our forefathers never saw or heard of! We pray your charity, that you zealously implore the Divine mercy to convert the hearts of the impious, and to confound their monstrous and insane design of overturning the stone laid by Jesus Christ, and violating the divine privileges. A writ was attached to these letters, containing the sentence of excommunication against the king, and thus entitled: "Deposition of King Henry, son of Henry Emperor; and absolution to all who have sworn allegiance to him." Platina says, that on the receipt of these writs, which were sent to every quarter where they were likely to effect the greatest mischief, many tendered conditions of peace: to which Gregory replied, that he would not accept peace until Henry had made his with God. "You know," said he, "how long and how heavily he hath afflicted the church; how often I have admonished him to reform his life. We did this out of remembrance to the love we once bore his father, but we obtained nothing by it; so different were his manners from those of his parents." Others, again, pressed him not to be so hasty in excommunicating the king: to whom he replied, "When Christ trusted his church to St. Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep,' did he except kings? Or when he gave him the power to bind and to loose, did he withdraw any one from its visitation? He

Gregory's opinions of the papal supremacy over temporal sovereigns.

therefore who says that he cannot be bound by the bonds of the church, must needs confess that he cannot either be absolved by it; and he who denies that, separates himself from Christ, and from his church." *

The fire of ecclesiastical frenzy was now lighted, and nothing could extinguish it but blood. With the aid of one hundred and ten bishops, Gregory excommunicated Sigefred, Bishop of Mayence, and all the bishops of Lombardy; and, borne along by the favourable breeze which the indignation against Rolandus had raised, those famous maxims appeared which are known by the name of the Dictates of Hildebrand. The following are the principal of them, on which the Roman pontiffs have founded their universal authority and divine supremacy †: —

1. The church of Rome was founded by Christ himself.

* These notions of Gregory seem to have been founded on that passage in Jeremiah which says, — "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." — Ch. i. 10.

† The authenticity of these famous Dictates is so ably assailed and defended by Baronius Lupus, John Lannoy, the Pagi, &c. that it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. I am inclined to agree with Mosheim, who says, "The most probable account of the matter seems to be this, — that some mean author extracted these sentences, partly from the epistles of Gregory that are yet extant, and partly from those that have perished in the ruins of time; and published them in the form in which they now appear, without judgment or method." — *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. XI. part ii. ch. ii. p. 492. vol. ii. in note.

2. The Roman pontiff can alone justly be denominated "Universal."

3. He alone can depose and re-institute bishops.

4. His legate may preside in the council over all bishops, although of inferior rank; and pronounce sentence of deposition against them.

5. The pope may depose absentees.

6. Cohabitation with schismatics is prohibited.

7. To the pope alone belongs the power, according to the exigency of circumstances, to make new laws, unite fresh nations, frame a canon, found an abbey; and, on the other hand, to divide overgrown bishoprics, and embody impoverished ones.

8. The pope alone may make use of imperial ensigns.

9. Princes may kiss the pope's toe only.

10. In churches, the name of the pope alone may be chanted.

11. There is only one power in the world—that of the pope.

12. The pope has the power of deposing the emperor.

13. Also to translate bishops.

14. Or ordain a clerk of any church whatever.

15. Any one ordained by the pope may preside over all other churches; but not militate in them, nor receive promotion from any other bishop.

16. No general council can be held without the pope's order.

17. No chapter or book shall be received as canonical without the pope's authority.

18. The decrees of the pope cannot be reversed by any one.

19. The pope is amenable to no judge.

20. No one should presume to condemn those who are called to the apostolic see.

21. The important affairs of every church must be referred to the pope.

22. The Roman church never did, nor ever can err, according to the Scripture.

23. The Roman pontiff canonically ordained, doubtless through the merits of St. Peter, becomes holy, according to the testimony of St. Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, and many holy fathers, as is contained in the decrees of Pope Simmacus.

24. None of the pope's subjects can be accused without his authority and consent.

25. The pope may depose or re-establish bishops without a synod.

26. No one can be accounted a Catholic who does not believe in the church of Rome.

27. The pope may absolve subjects from their oaths to any impious or heretical prince.

These Dictates, on which the ecclesiastical supremacy of Gregory was established, were approved by the synod of this year, composed of one hundred and ten bishops.

CHAP. II.

DIET OF TRIBUR, OR OPPENHEIM. — COUNCIL OF PAVIA. — GREGORY EXCOMMUNICATED. — HENRY'S JOURNEY TO CANOSSA. — DIET OF FORCHEIM. — DEPOSITION OF HENRY. — ELECTION OF RODOLPH. — COUNCIL OF BRIXEN. — DEPOSITION OF GREGORY. — ELECTION OF GUIBERT. — DEATH OF RODOLPH. — ELECTION OF ERMANNUS. — SIEGES AND SACK OF ROME. — DEATH OF GREGORY.

EVERY engine was now in motion; and monks and Roman priests flew in all directions to reduce their enemies by force, or destroy them by treachery. Amongst the latter, probably, was the formidable Godfrey, the former husband of Matilda, who incessantly harassed Gregory by his adherents from Lorena, and favoured to the utmost the party of Henry. It is said that he was treacherously slain by an arrow, at the instigation of Robert, Count of Flanders. It seems, according to Fiorentini, that, his jealousy having induced him to co-operate in the unsuccessful conspiracy of Cencius, it was necessary that he should perish. Lambertus describes him as a brave prince, superior to any of his contemporaries.* Although deformed, as his nickname

Death of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine.

* Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis thus describes the death of Godfrey: — "Godefridus Dux Lotharingiorum cum esset in confinio Lotharingiæ et Flandriæ, in civitate quæ dicitur An-

indicates, the virtues and ornaments of his mind compensated for the defects of his person. The contradictions of historians render it difficult to ascertain whether he left any issue. The partisans of Gregory wish it to be supposed, and do their utmost to prove, that Matilda died a virgin, as I have elsewhere shown. In this prince, Henry lost one of his most powerful supporters, Gregory one of his most terrible enemies. Matilda, out of respect to a husband whom she had abandoned, never allowed the pope openly to excommunicate him; and celebrated his obsequies in the churches under her dominion.

One of the most fanatical partisans of the pope was a certain archpriest of Treviri, named Ugo, who, on his return from Rome, distinguished himself by prodigies of valour against Henry. The princes of Saxony were particularly excited by their rebellion; and disposed themselves, with a respectable force, to retaliate on the German monarch. The monks worked upon the common people, and reduced the bishops to a deplorable condition; whilst the irresolute and the most timid wavered, and, returning to Gregory, asked forgiveness for their

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tuerpha, occisus est per insidias, ut putabatur, Roberti Flandrensis Comitis; cum enim quadam nocte, quiescentibus omnibus, ad necessitatem naturæ secessisset, appositus extra domum spiculator confodit eum per secreta natium, relictoque in vulnere ferro, aufugit. Vix deinceps septem diebus accepto vulnere superstes, 4°. Kal. Martii vita decessit; atque Verdunis juxta patrem sepultus est. Magnum regni Theutonici robur ac momentum quomodo, ut sæpe enim dictum est, statura pusillitate atque gibbo despicabilis videretur."

errors. The pope was just now beginning to enjoy the secret sweets of triumph, when intelligence was brought him of the death of the Duchess Beatrice; a lady entirely devoted to his cause, and by nature and education the bitterest enemy of the German name. She had, however, always preserved a certain respect for Henry, and had been the constant advocate of peace. She perhaps foresaw, in the fatal consequence of this religious warfare, the ruin of her country. This obstacle to his ambition was now removed; and Gregory inwardly rejoiced at seeing himself placed by destiny on that pinnacle of power which, at one time, he had scarcely dared to contemplate. The Countess Matilda alone remained, and she and her affairs were already in his hands. Henceforward he could assail Henry with temporal as well as spiritual arms, and expose him to the risk of a battle with the chance of victory. These advantages, well considered by the princes his opponents, rendered them daily more vacillating in the interests of their chief; and finally determined them to withdraw from the excommunicated monarch, under pretence of being unable to cope with so many enemies at once. Perceiving Henry constantly more obstinate in his resolutions, they decided, at any cost, on giving peace to their country; and, assembling a diet, declared Henry to be deposed.* The principal of these confederates

Death of Beatrice, the mother of Matilda.

The German princes abandon Henry.

* "A conspiracy long prepared, of which the Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia were the chiefs, began to manifest itself; some were alienated by his vices, and others jealous of his

were Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, Bertoldus, Duke of Carinthia, and Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, whose father, the Marquis Albert, Ozzo II., Lord of Este, Rovigo, and other states, had always, according to Muratori, been a most zealous partisan of the Holy See, and promoted its interests with his son.

The confederate party increased rapidly, and counted many bishops and archbishops, amongst whom was the Archbishop of Mayence, whose example operated very forcibly on his brethren.

Diet of Tribur, or Oppenheim.

The diet was held at Tribur, or Oppenheim, in the middle of October, and was attended by the legates of the Holy See, with circular letters from Gregory to all the faithful, thus expressed: "You know, most beloved brothers, that in these dangerous times, when Antichrist is at work, scarcely any one is to be found to worship God and his holy name, and to prefer his precepts to the grace and favour of the princes of this world. But He who putteth from the left hand to the right hath placed you against his enemies, for the salvation of many nations, that you may prefer eternal life to earthly glory." He continued by informing them that, when he was a deacon, he had not failed to correct the king, or since when he became pope, but vainly; exhorting them to exert themselves to the utmost to take him out of the hands of the Devil, and lead him back to the path of salvation. He had previously told

family: the rebellious Saxons took courage; the bishops, intimidated by excommunication, withdrew from his side; and he suddenly found himself almost insulated in the midst of his dominions." — *Hallam, Middle Ages*, vol. ii. 4to. p. 47.

them, that they who died in excommunication could not obtain the prayers of the church; although from this penalty he wished to except Henry, out of regard to the Countess Matilda.

Henry, unable to offer any effectual resistance to the arts and intrigues of the court of Rome, retired to the city of Oppenheim, which was separated from Tribur by the Rhine, and despatched legates with promises of reform, satisfaction, and benefits; and omitted no kind of humiliation or entreaty to influence the diet in his behalf. But Gregory, who declared any one to be excommunicated who should correspond with or absolve him, and had obliged the bishops either to abandon him to the pope or elect another monarch in his place; told them that they must follow in their proceedings the ordinary usage of the court of Rome. Time was, however, given to Henry; and the final disposal of the affair was committed to the pontiff. If, on the 2d of February, in the ensuing year, he presented himself before the pope at Augsburg, and confessed all his sins, he was to receive absolution; otherwise, sentence was to be pronounced against him, and the election of a new king to be proceeded with. Henry accepted these conditions; but the assembly then went farther; compelled him to dismiss all those who were excommunicated,—to remove the garrison which he had placed in Worms,—to reinstate the bishops whom he had deposed,—to obey the decrees of the pontiff,—and to settle at Spires with the Bishop of Verdun, and some other persons of known piety,

Resolutions of the diet.

without regal attendance or state, removed from the direction of public affairs until his cause should be determined.

In submitting to these terms, Henry certainly acknowledged himself conquered by Gregory. The throne remained apparently vacant; and the grandees of the opposite faction bethought themselves of a more worthy occupant. Messengers were sent with the decision of the diet to the pope, entreating him to repair to Augsburg to pass his sentence. Gregory conducted his arbitration with wonderful dexterity; and, assuming a tone of moderation, ordered the Teutonic bishops to restore Henry, and receive him again into the bosom of the church. The more obstinate and resolute of the Lombard bishops who had been excommunicated along with Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, in the last Roman council, in conjunction with him and Tedaldus, Archbishop of Milan, assembled a council at Pavia, composed of all their partisans and suffragans; and, in their turn, excommunicated Gregory. This powerful Italian party, constant in their resolutions, revived the fallen hopes of Henry. He resolved not to await the condemnation of Gregory in the heart of his kingdom; but set out, in the hopes of assuaging his wrath, before the time appointed by the diet. He imagined that he should be unable to defend his cause in the presence of the princes and bishops, the majority of whom were his enemies, and some of whom coveted the glory of being his successor.

Council of Pavia.

Henry sets out for Italy.

Whilst Henry was preparing for his departure,

Gregory was indefatigable in reinforcing, by threats, and flattery, and promises, his own party in Italy, and weakening that of his opponent; and, after writing preparatory letters to many of the most powerful lords*, he prepared for his journey to Augsburg, in the middle of November. Meantime he heard that Henry himself was on his road to Italy; and that, having been impeded by the Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia from passing through their states, he was advancing, with his wife Bertha and his son Conrad, and a few attendants, by way of Burgundy, after having celebrated Christmas at Besançon. Henry, in fact, having reached Civis (now, perhaps, Cuisco), proceeded to his mother-in-law, Adelaide, Marchioness of Susa, and her son Amadeus, whose authority and possessions were very great, and whose name was highly celebrated in those parts. He was very honourably received by them; but they would not allow him to pass on until he had yielded five bishoprics to them, contiguous to their states.† Dreadful were the sufferings to which this unfortunate prince was exposed in the course of this disastrous journey: hazardous deviations from the high road, owing

Journey of Henry.

* "It was before the termination of the year 1076, that he wrote a letter to Annozir, King of Mauritania, or probably that part of Africa occupied by the regency of Algiers, the capital city of which was Calat-Hamad, not far from Almesila or Mesela, at the foot (according to Pagi) of Mount Atlas. This letter, which is too long for quotation, may be found in Labbe, and affords irrefragable proof of the religious principles of Gregory." — *Baronius.*

† See Muratori, Ann. d' Italia.

to the occupation of the passes by his enemies,—the Alpine summits, inaccessible from wintry snows,—frequent avalanches,—the death of companions and of horses,—the agonies of his queen and child, sewn up in the skins of oxen, and dragged in this manner over the mountains. The winter of 1077 was one of the most severe that had ever been known in Lombardy: yet the courageous prince overcame all these difficulties, and arrived in Italy at the period he designed.

Gregory sets out for Germany.

Fiorentini asserts that it was contrary to the advice of the Roman lords that Gregory undertook his journey, on which he was accompanied by Matilda. Having reached Vercelli, they heard of Henry's arrival in Piedmont: and Gregory, not being aware of the king's intentions, deemed it advisable to fall back to the impregnable rock of Canossa, on the Reggiano, where he was shortly joined by a host of bishops and laymen from Germany, who had found their way through disasters and unfrequented paths, to obtain absolution from him. Gregory received them with benignity; and, after a few days' penance, re-admitted them to the communion of the church.*

Gregory retreats to Canossa.

Henry in Lombardy.

Henry had no sooner descended into the plains of Lombardy, than he was surrounded by an immense number of people favourable to his cause, and especially by all the excommunicated counts and bishops. He called Matilda to him, and

* Some authors say that the penance assigned to them was very long and severe, and that they were confined in very small cells to the most rigorous fast.—See Bayle, Life of St. Gregory.

persuaded her, as well as his mother-in-law Adelaide and her son Amadeus, the Marquis Ozzo, Ugo, Abbot of Clugni, and other Italian princes whose authority he knew to be of much weight, to intercede for him with Gregory. It was a laborious task to move the pope to commiseration or mercy: but at length he consented to become more flexible, provided Henry would show signs of sincere repentance, lay aside the royal insignia, and confess with his own lips that, after the council of Worms, he was unworthy of the style and habit of a king. These conditions seemed so harsh and impracticable to the embassy, that, apprehensive of the utter failure of their mission by reporting them, they made a fresh and urgent attempt to get them mitigated; and succeeded so far as to obtain leave for Henry to appear before the pontiff, on a solemn undertaking to obey the apostolic decrees. On these terms Henry set out for Canossa, without even the conditions of his repentance being previously concerted. In this proceeding there were two great errors: one on the side of Henry, who ought not to have exposed himself to the discretion of another, or the insults of a severe enemy, or allowed himself to be dazzled by the apparent ascendancy of Matilda over the mind of Gregory; the other on the side of the pope, who ought not to have erected his tribunal in a fort which did not belong to him, in the company of a lady who gave employment to his detractors, and resolved under such circumstances to annul the sentence of one hundred and ten

Henry goes to Canossa.

bishops, recorded in the Lateran. Had he returned to his capital, and given audience to Henry before his synod, he might have forwarded his ambitious operations more skilfully,—have humbled his opponents, encouraged his friends, and spared, perhaps, a great subsequent effusion of blood.*

Humiliation of Henry to the pope, 13th Jan. 1077.

Henry presented himself at the first gate of the fortress†, and there, in the most abject submission, awaited to see what would be required of him. He was made to enter alone, having left all his suite outside the first of the three walls which girt the fortress; and at the second barrier he laid aside all the insignia of his dignity, and put on a simple woollen tunic. Here he stood barefooted, in the depth of winter, without food, from morning until night, for three whole days, imploring with loud lamentations the mercy of God and of the pope.‡ On the fourth day,

* This account is principally taken from Lambertus, whose description is very minute.

† This fortress was already celebrated by having been the refuge of Queen Adelaide, whom Otho the Great liberated in the year 951, and afterwards married.

‡ This treatment seemed so severe, that, as Gregory himself remarks in his letter to the German princes, they who were with him murmured at it, unable to account for such unexampled hardness of heart; and some even said openly, that such conduct resembled rather the cruelty of a tyrant, than the just severity of an apostolic judge. These complaints became so loud, that Matilda was moved to intercede with Gregory; who yielded to her entreaties on condition of Henry's submitting anew to his judgment, when and where he should decide. Donnizone says, that Henry was in such despair that he was well-nigh departing, but that the Abbot of Clugni persuaded Matilda to interfere for him.

being admitted into the presence of the pontiff, after much controversy, he was absolved from the excommunication on the following terms:—that he should appear, at any given time and place which Gregory should appoint, before a general council of the German princes, to answer to their charges, in presence of the pope himself, if the latter should deem it expedient; that he should abide by the sentence of the pope, who was to be the sole judge of the cause; that if it acquitted him he should retain his kingdom, or, if he were condemned, he should resign it cheerfully; that, whether he lost it or retained it, he should seek revenge on no one; that, until his cause was legally tried and decided, he should wear no royal ornament or insignia, nor make any decree in the administration of public affairs; that, beyond the necessary service of himself and his court, he should assume nothing royal or by public right; that all those who had taken the oath of allegiance to him were released in the sight of God and man; that Robert, Bishop of Bamberga, Uldaric of Constance, and others, his counsellors, should be removed from him for ever; and that, if ultimately being acquitted, he should again be powerful in his kingdom, he should be obedient and subject to the Roman pontiff, and co-operate with him manfully and promptly for the good of the church; and, finally, that if he violated any one of the conditions the absolution should be invalid, he should be immediately deposed, and a new monarch elected in his stead.

For this suspension of the excommunication,

and nominal restoration to royalty, the conditions were sufficiently hard. Yet Henry was obliged to accept them; and the Abbot of Clugni, and the other princes present, swore, on the relics of the saints, that they should be punctually observed. The terms of the absolution being completed, the pope celebrated mass; and calling the king and all the company to the altar, and holding in his hand the body of Christ, he said,—

Terms of Henry's absolution sworn to.

Gregory exculpates himself.

"From the beginning I received letters from thee, and from thy faction, accusing me of having filled the apostolic chair by simony, and of having stained my life by many crimes, both before and after my elevation; which, according to the canons, would have disqualified me from exercising the sacred functions. And although I could undoubtedly repel such accusations by the testimony of persons who have known the integrity of my life from its earliest infancy, no less than by that of those who were the authors of my promotion to the episcopacy; yet, that I may not rely on human testimony only, and in order satisfactorily to remove the smallest scruple of scandal, let the body of our Saviour, which I am now about to take, be the test of my innocence: let the omnipotent God, by his judgment this day, if I be innocent, absolve me from the suspicion of such crimes; or, if I be guilty, let him slay me with a sudden death." Having uttered this terrible appeal, he ate a part of the Lord's body; whereat the people congratulating him, and extolling his innocence, murmured with much joy and gladness. Silence being obtained, he

then turned to Henry, and said, "Do thou, if it please thee, O son! what thou hast seen me do. The princes of thy empire have filled our ears with accusations against thee, and a great mass of capital crimes, by which thou hast forfeited, not only all right to the administration of public affairs, but to the communion of the church, and the conversation of a secular life, even till thy dying day. They ask a day to be appointed to discuss and prove them: but, being conscious how frail are the judgments of man; how often truth is taken for falsehood, and falsehood for truth; since thou hast shown thyself to be earnest in soliciting the aid of the church, do as I tell thee: if thou believest thyself innocent, and calumniously accused, free thyself and the church of God from this scandal, and let every tongue be silent against thee; — that I, being then the advocate of thy cause, and the most vehement assertor of thy innocence, may reconcile thee to thy princes, restore thee to thy kingdom, and extinguish all the wars which have so long afflicted the republic." The king, astonished at the novelty of this proposition, was violently agitated, separated himself from his companions, and, in fear and trembling, deliberated what it would be best to do to avoid the necessity of so horrid an ordeal. Having recovered his courage, he represented to the pope the absence of those princes who, in adversity, had preserved their allegiance to him, and whose consequent ignorance of his absolution would render absolutely vain, and deprive of any weight with the credu-

Henry hesitates to accept the pope's challenge to prove his innocence.

lous, any experiment which he might undergo of his innocence; and he therefore earnestly besought the pope to remit his cause to a general council and common audience, at which the assembled accusers might discuss the charges according to the ecclesiastical laws, and the judges and princes pronounce a just judgment. The pope with difficulty complied; and the excommunication was taken off without the king having attested his innocence.* After dining together, the pope furnished Henry very kindly with every thing of which he stood in need, giving him instructions as to his future conduct; and sent him to his attendants, who were waiting near the castle. He had previously despatched a bishop to absolve all those who had been excommunicated with the king. Gregory communicated these proceedings to all the German princes, in a letter which proves that the real motive of his retreat to Canossa was his apprehension of the insecurity of pursuing his journey through Lombardy, where Henry was highly popular, and in great force.

Henry leaves Canossa.

On the arrival of the legation announcing the result of the conferences at Canossa, the Lombard bishops expressed great indignation,

* Donnizone says, "Nam benedixit eum, pacem tribuit sibi, demum missam cantavit, corpus dedit et Deitatis; secum convivum super arcem qui Canusina vocatur. Ipsum dimisit postquam juravit."

It is singular that neither this author, who in all probability was present in attendance on Matilda, nor Paulus Benriedensis, the panegyrist of Gregory, should make any mention of the refusal by Henry of the pope's challenge.

and excited a violent sedition against Henry, who was to abdicate, and whose infant son was to be created king and taken to Rome to elect another pope, by whom he was to be immediately consecrated emperor; and all the acts of the apostate Pope Gregory were to be abolished. On the receipt of this intelligence, Henry sent all the princes who were near him to calm the public mind, entreating them not to attribute to contumely those acts which had been forced on him for the common benefit of all; and reminding them, that as he was now released from his enemies, and the pope and the German princes were no longer united against him, he would avenge their wrongs. The tumult being rather repressed than extinguished, many princes departed from quarters without leave; and others, counterfeiting peace, received the king on his return from Canossa with the accustomed decorum and respect; while, with leering eyes, they muttered, at every corner, imprecations against his levity and indolence, and complained that a monarch of whom so much was expected, and who had been so highly desired, should not have realised a single hope, or redeemed the calamities of their afflicted country. In his passage through the cities, he was not, as was customary, met with processions and torches; but constrained to encamp in the suburbs, and subsist his army on the supplies that were sparingly administered; whilst guards were stationed every where to prevent booty and pillage. The king, alarmed at these unusual appearances, and re-

penting too late of having trusted himself to a nation of untried faith, and discovering that in leaving Germany he had only changed his enemies but found no refuge, called the excommunicated bishops to his aid, restored them to their original favour, and besought their counsel. He ascribed to Gregory the blame and guilt of all their miseries; and gradually subduing their animosity to himself, and exciting it against the pope, his ranks became re-united, the provisions began to pour in more plentifully, and his orders to be better obeyed.

In the mean time Gregory, fifteen days after the absolution of the king, sent an embassy to the Milanese, to re-unite themselves to the church. Anselmo, Bishop of Lucca, and Geraldus, Bishop of Ostia, were his instruments on this occasion, and on their arrival at Milan were arrested; but Anselmo, being a native and a noble, was subsequently released, and entered on his errand. The German princes on his application summoned a diet at Forcheim, to discuss the deposition of Henry; and invited the Saxon chiefs, and Gregory himself, to be present. The latter apprized Henry of it, and directed him to proceed to it, in order to learn the decision of his fate, according to agreement. The emperor excused himself, on the ground of its being his first visit to Italy, and the urgency of his affairs there — his abandonment of which would highly incense the Italians. He complained, too, that the diet was fixed so summarily that the fleetest horses in the world could not

perform the distance within the given time, even if he were willing, and able, to set out. This reply the pope sent to the assembled princes, assuring them that he was ready to attend; but that, Henry having occupied all the passes, he could not only not go into Germany, but could not even return to Rome; and that they might freely dispose of the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would join them subsequently if he had an opportunity. Such hitherto is the account given of these transactions by Lambertus: but the poetical panegyrist and courtly priest Donizzone, who must principally serve me as a guide through the sequel of this history, relates that Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, and head of all the Lombard bishops, repaired to the king, and, being a crafty and highly talented man, prevailed upon Henry to oppose artifice by artifice; on which he flattered and temporised with Gregory by fine words and fair promises, to lay a plot to imprison both him and Matilda. Six days after he set out for Canossa, the king returned to Bibianello, a place contiguous to that fortress, on pretext of again accosting the Pope. The pope descended with his faithful companion from the mountain, and went to meet him. Henry warmly exhorted him to hold a congress shortly, in which all the differences between them should be securely and satisfactorily adjusted, and a permanent peace established. Gregory did not know how to refuse, nor Matilda to contradict it. On the appointed day, Henry went out with a cavalcade to take the necessary

Plot against Gregory.

precautions for making them prisoners; but scarcely had Matilda and the pope set off, when they were overtaken by a messenger in breathless haste, with intimation of the treachery. Suddenly they turned their steeds, and flew back to Canossa. It was then that the infuriated Matilda embraced with greater zeal the cause of Gregory, and gave all her possessions to St. Peter. But neither the triumph of Venus nor the rape of Helen produced so much blood and slaughter as the untimely gifts and follies of that woman entailed upon unhappy Italy. Henry, barricadoed hitherto within its mountains, had interested himself but little in monkish politics, and had been uncertain in his movements and inconstant in his resolutions; but Canossa was a great beacon to him. The generous indignation of the Italian princes taught him that he had governed abjectly and disgracefully. Animated for the future by a more noble and generous companionship, and comforted by the counsels of Guibert, he opened a new career, which would have been more happy and glorious, had not the volatility of his nature irresistibly transported him into the ocean of uncertainty and change.

Diet of Forcheim.

The princes of Germany meanwhile assembled at Forcheim, having listened with great attention to the legates, and demonstrated the impossibility of things continuing in their present state, deposed Henry, without hearing him in his defence; and conferred the empire on Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, whom they asked the pope to confirm.

Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, elected Emperor of Germany.

So bold a project, perhaps, had not even entered the pontiff's mind; for, as Henry was a relation of Matilda, and the empress-mother was still living, it behoved the pope to take heed, lest before her death she should see her offspring fallen from their high estate to the rank of simple individuals. Henry, moreover, was at the head of an Italian army, which might sustain his rights; nor were the German princes unanimous in this measure. The clergy were universally in opposition, and, in many cities, rejected the papal decrees. Rodolph himself, on the very day of his election, was assaulted by a troop of infuriated clerks, who wished to kill him for having refused to hear the mass in which a priest officiated who was suspected of simony. These considerations rendered Gregory dubious, and enfeebled the operations of the new monarch. Accordingly, when he received the despatches from his legate, the pope replied, that he would not declare himself with so much precipitation; bnt should go into Germany, and there, in conjunction with the most just princes and bishops, investigate the grounds of the sentence minutely, and decide to whom the throne should belong. Unquestionably, this letter is at issue with the one with which the legates were originally charged, conceding the power of deciding the question to the princes; and the anonymous author of the life of Henry asserts, that the pope silently acquiesced in the election of Rodolph.* Helmolding, in his account of the affairs of Ger-

Gregory refuses to recognise Rodolph.

* Bruno. Hist. Bell. Saxon.

many, also assures us that the pope sanctioned the election of Rodolph. In his letters to the legates, dated from Carpineto, the 30th of May, 1077, Gregory threatens both the monarchs, if they should disobey his orders, with the loss of the sceptre, and even of their lives, with excommunication and separation from the church; reminding them that whosoever does so is guilty of idolatry; for that the blessed Gregory, a holy doctor, had settled long ago, that disobedient sovereigns were to be dethroned.* On the whole, it appears as though Gregory betrayed great vacillation with regard to the election of Rodolph, whose cause was thereby materially injured.

Henry refers to the pope.

The first step which Henry took, on receipt of the melancholy news from Forcheim, was to throw himself at the feet of the pope, and implore him not to confirm the sentence, but rather to excommunicate his adversary and his followers. The pope, taking advantage of this opportunity, expressed his inability to comply, because the emperor imprisoned St. Peter in the person of his legate Geraldus; whom it was not, however, in the power of Henry to release, since he died in the dungeons of Milan, in December 1077. of this year. About the same period, the pope had reason to complain of the bad faith of the king in the seizure of another legate, Robert, Archbishop of Marseilles. Thus the ascendancy of Gregory was on the wane, at the very time

* Greg. VII. i. lib. iv. epist. 23, 24. 28.

when he congratulated himself on having achieved a triumph; and the fortress of Canossa was as fatal to his ambition as Cannæ had before been to that of Hannibal.

Henry re-assumes the ensigns of royalty, and convokes a diet at Roncaglia.

Nor did Henry long remain inactive. After gradually ingratiating himself with the Lombard bishops, he re-assumed the ensigns of royalty, although he was unable to obtain the pope's consent to his being crowned with the iron crown at Monza *; and, in concert with his chancellor of the empire, the Archbishop of Vercelli, he assembled a diet in the plains of Roncaglia, to which he invited all the Italian princes, to treat on the re-organisation of the kingdom and the deposition of Gregory. The famous Cencius went to Pavia, carrying the Bishop of Crema with him as his prisoner, to mark his hatred to Gregory *: and the council was attended by a great number of cardinals and dignitaries in the

* Monza est à 8 ou 10 milles de Milan. On y va voir l'église de Saint Jean Baptiste, fondée par la Reine Théodelinde, mais rebattu vers l'an 1380: son trésor contient des choses remarquables; par exemple, la couronne de fer, qui est une des celles qui ont servi à couronner autrefois les empereurs comme rois de Lombardie; on l'appelle couronne de fer à cause d'un cercle de fer dont elle est garnie en dedans, et qui fut fait, dit-on, avec un des clous de la passion. On y conserve la couronne de Théodelinde et du Roi Agilulphe, son mari: une croix de crystal que St. Grégorie le Grand lui envoya; on y montre son éventail, son peigne," &c.—*La Lande, Voyage en Italie*, tome premier, p. 498. 8vo. 1786. I can speak to the veracity of this account within the last few years (having paid a visit to Monza myself in 1824); although I find no notice of these interesting relics in Eustace or Forsyth.

† Bertoldus Constans. in Chronica. Bennone, Vita di Greg. VII.

church, the suffragan bishops of the cities depending on the ancient exarchate of Ravenna, and those of Lombardy and Milan. Had Henry persevered in his project, he would, undoubtedly, have given a mortal blow to Gregory. But the sudden deaths of Cencius and of the arch-chancellor cast a despondency over the chiefs already assembled, and caused the diet to be dissolved.* The two opponents, Henry and Gregory, therefore departed from Lombardy; the first directing his course to Germany, the second to Rome. On the confines of his empire Henry found more friends than he expected. Many bishops who had evinced indifference to, or dissimulation towards Rodolph, quickly declared themselves on his side; while others openly violated their oath of allegiance. Encouraged by these appearances, he instantly set on foot a small army, and made war against his competitor.

Failure of the diet of Roncaglia.

There are two different accounts of Gregory's conduct in this conjuncture. The one of father Pagi, sustained by the authority of William of Apulia, a poet and historian of this period; and of Anna Commena, who, after saying that he left Canossa, and on the 4th of June was at Carpineto, in the kingdom of Naples, from whence he passed to Beneventum, states, that at the end of the year, full of indignation

1077.

* The principal causes of the breaking up of this diet are not accurately known. It is not improbable that the death of these two personages was contrived by the intrigues of Gregory; since, as they were both excommunicated, any one who pleased might kill them with impunity.

against Henry, and apprehensive lest, if he coalesced with Robert, he should be unable to withstand their combined opposition, Gregory resolved, upon mature deliberation, to unite himself with the latter. Having learned that Robert was at Salerno, he went to Beneventum; from whence he sent a legate with a request for an interview, which was granted. From these two places, the monarch and the pope went forth with their respective armies to meet each other; and when they were in front, ordering the troops to form, they embraced, made a treaty of alliance, and swore mutual fidelity. By the terms of the compact, the pontiff was to grant to Robert the dignity and title of king; and he was to furnish Gregory with auxiliary troops against the oriental Romans, and assist him whenever he was able.*

Ptolemy of Lucca, on the other hand, asserts, that Gregory intended to create Robert, or his son, emperor of the west. Donizzone, however, does not prolong his stay at Canossa beyond three months, and makes him return to Rome in the month of May. Baronius and Muratori, the last in order to accommodate the circumstances with the other warlike acts of Robert in Naples, defers his alliance with Gregory to a subsequent period; and both these writers assure us, that the Carpineto alluded to was a place in Lombardy, and not the one in Naples. Becchetti

* Anna Commena, Alexiad. lib. i. Pagi Criti. in Ann. Baronii.

adopts this opinion, and I am disposed to follow him; because one must otherwise suppose the alliance to have been destroyed as soon as it was formed—seeing that Robert Guiscard was excommunicated afresh by the council of Rome in 1078. It would appear then, according to Baronius, that Gregory went in the month of March to Carpineto, and thence to Carpi and Bibianello; in May to Figherolo; thence back again to Carpineto, where he stayed till July; and, returning to Rome through Tuscany, was at Florence on the 11th of August: that the early part of September found him at Sienna, whence he proceeded to Rome. During the course of these peregrinations, this indefatigable politician sent legates all over Europe, to England, Spain, Venice, Corsica, France, Denmark, and Hungary; some to enforce his decrees as to investitures, simony, and church reforms,—some to excommunicate, — others to absolve, — some assist the dominion of St. Peter, where it had never yet been recognised,—and others to secure the allegiance which had been already extorted. Besides the letters which he wrote, with unwearied energy and perseverance, to accompany these legates, he left no arts of seduction untried to recruit his party; raising troops and convoking churchmen. But the tide of his triumphant course had ebbed; his partisans were divided, and his enemies increased daily. The Prefect of Rome was killed in an affray by an adherent of the opposite faction: a score of

Journey of Gregory.

miracles were manufactured over the corpse of this soldier of St. Peter — but in vain! The people would not hail him as a saint.*

Italy, in the midst of so many dissensions and factions, was robbed of her repose, and plunged deeper and deeper into barbarism. In the Two Sicilies, Robert Guiscard, with the ravages of his troops, the sieges of cities, the devastation of provinces, and annihilation of the inhabitants, was no trifling source of torment to that beautiful country. In this year he took Salerno, and despoiled of it its natural prince, Gisulfus, a great friend of Gregory, who took a conspicuous part in the first Lateran council held by that pope; and, being deprived of his states on account of the vexations and cruelties which he had exercised, was consoled for his misfortune by the pontiff, who entrusted him with the government of the Campagna Romana. Salerno was at this time celebrated for its school of medicine, to which numberless persons flocked from all countries for instruction and cure. Amalfi too, the rival of Pisa in wealth and commerce, acknowledged the sway of Robert; an event of no trivial importance to him, since it was full of gold, ships, and people. †

Operations of Robert Guiscard.

State of Salerno and Amalfi.

In this year died the devout Empress Agnes,

* Bertol. Const. in Chronico.

† William of Apulia describes this city in bad Latin verses, to this effect:—"Here assemble merchants from the various cities of Alexander and Antiochus. Here is the sea, ploughed by many ships. Here come for traffic the Arabians, Indians, Sicilians, and Africans. Here is the people renowned throughout the world for exporting and importing merchandise."

the mother of Henry, the patroness of Gregory and the church; her extravagant submission to which made her deaf to the voice of nature, and allied her to the most powerful and inveterate enemies of her own house. Driven out of Germany, she remained poor and forgotten: her jewels and riches being gone, she quitted the world ill-satisfied with herself and with mankind. So true it is, that fanaticism extinguishes in us every gentle passion, and makes us the prey of impostors and rogues!

1078. The year 1077 having thus closed, the following one opened with a scene still more turbulent and sanguinary. The pope called around him all the bishops who sided with him, in number, according to his panegyrists, about a hundred, and convened a council in Saint John Lateran for the first week in Lent; and summoned the Archbishop of Ravenna to appear at it, with all his suffragan bishops and abbots, charging them with being the cause of the prevailing agitations: but exhorting them, nevertheless, as it was the province of man to sin, and of God to pardon, to repent, — and granting them a safe-conduct to the synod. This summons the archbishop treated with the most profound contempt, as coming from an apostate pontiff.

Fourth synod in Rome.

Rivalry of the two German emperors.

The two rival emperors of Germany, meanwhile, were carrying on their intrigues at Rome; the one soliciting his recognition, and the other his entire absolution in the condemnation of his opponent. The time for open battle was not yet come, and, with Henry, dissimulation was ne-

cessary. But to Rodolph, whose only pretension to the crown rested on the momentary favour of the pope and bishops, this dubious conduct on their parts was exceedingly mischievous. He made, therefore, very strong remonstrances against it, reproaching the pope with deceit and fickleness, and, consequently, plunging many Catholic princes and bishops into inextricable ruin. His efforts were, however, useless. The synod contented itself with excommunicating the refractory bishops and the restless Normans, and deposing the Abbot of Farfa; which had acquired all its wealth and importance from the generosity of the emperors, and faithfully adhered to them, denying the pope's right of interference. It made also many canons, amongst which I cannot omit to mention one, to the credit of humanity, in this dark and selfish age. Amid the invasions with which it had been afflicted, and the religious ferment of the times in Italy, the Roman laws had been forgotten, and custom had invalidated the constitution of Antoninus Pius, which placed the passengers and property of vessels that were wrecked at the disposal of the state. Gregory decreed that this barbarous law should be abolished, and that in future every thing should be restored to its right owner. Excommunication was now become so common that it was in danger of losing its effect; many men died without caring for it,—on the living it made but little impression. It therefore became necessary to restrict it; and, accordingly, the wives, children, and servants of excommunicated per-

Canon in favour of humanity.

sons, travellers, inn-keepers, and country people, were absolved and exempt from it. It was self-interest which dictated this lenity: for, without it, St. Peter's net would probably soon have been without fish, and his shepherd without a flock.

Battles between Henry and Rodolph.

But while the synod was fighting with its decrees, and thundering its anathemas, Henry and Rodolph appealed to arms, and two bloody battles were fought; in the first of which victory declared for Rodolph, and in the second remained neutral.

The fifth Roman council.

In the month of November, Gregory assembled another council at Rome, in which Nicephorus, who had usurped the throne of Constantinople from Michael, and Constantine Porphirogenitus, the son-in-law of Robert Guiscard, whose daughter had been sent back to her father, was excommunicated. The two emperors had been put into a convent, as was the custom in those times; and Michael was the intimate friend of Gregory, with whom he had corresponded; and he had given many rich presents to the church of Monte Cassino.

The Emperor of Constantinople excommunicated.

Berenger summoned.

The heretic Berenger was also cited to Rome, and compelled to condemn and renounce his own creed. His new profession of faith was to this effect:—"I confess that the sacramental bread, after its consecration, is the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, died upon the cross, and sits on the right hand of the Father; and that the wine is the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ: as this which I utter with my tongue I confirm with

my heart—So help me God!" This formula was satisfactory to Gregory and all the synod, except the Bishops of Padua and Pisa, who remitted Berenger to a subsequent synod; at which, resuming the discussion, they made him add the word "*substantially*"—of which he afterwards so bitterly complained. According to the previous form, he might still have maintained his doctrine,—asserting that he ate the Lord's body, not substantially, but spiritually and figuratively. Gregory himself does not seem to have differed with him much in this opinion, after the facts and miracles which he was said to have performed in search of the truth; and only yielded, perhaps, to the more commonly received one, in order to avoid the disorders which fresh arguments would inevitably beget, to the obstruction of his other projects.*

According to Natalis Alexander, this council

* These conjectures are not visionary or hazarded without reason, since they result from a studious perusal of the Ecclesiastical Annals and other documents. In the Eleventh Century of Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History" there is a dissertation on the creed of Gregory as to the eucharist, in which that learned author shows that he held the same opinion as Berenger, but was compelled by circumstances to adopt, externally, the opposite doctrine. See also Martene. Thesau. Anecdot. tom. iv. p. 99—109. For a particular account of the origin of this absurd controversy between Pascasius Radbert and his adversary Bertramm, or Retramm, in the ninth century, see Mosheim's Eccl. History. Cent. IX. part ii. chap. iii. The doctrine of transubstantiation was certainly not established in England in this century (ninth), nor even in the tenth, as is proved by Rapin (History of England, translation, London, fo. 1732, vol. i. page 143.). Contempo-

promulged fresh decrees against lay investitures, tithes, and false penance. So great was the rage for depriving the married priests of their wives, that Gregory neglected the infraction of other church discipline; saying, that when he had removed the greater evil, he would in time take away the lesser. In fact, it was his main object; and, if we wish to ascertain the advantages which the Roman church derived from enforcing celibacy, we may refer to the discourse of Cardinal Rodolph Pius, in the Consistory of 1561, in presence of Paul IV., on the question of conceding to the French the use of the chalice in the Lord's Supper. "It is clear," said he, "if this point be yielded, there will be no end to the demands of the French in matters of religion. They will require matrimony for the priests, and the use of the vulgar tongue in administering the Sacrament. From the right of matrimony it will follow that, having houses, wives, and children, they will no longer depend on the pope, but on their prince; and love for their offspring will induce them to act prejudicially to the church. They will seek to make benefices hereditary; and in a short time the Holy See will be within the limits of Rome. Before celibacy was established, the Roman see drew no fruits from the other cities or districts: by that she became the patron of so many benefices, of which matrimony would soon deprive her. From

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rary with this controversy was the one concerning predestination and grace, between Godeschalcus and Rabanus Maurus.

the use of the vulgar tongue, every body would suppose that he was a theologian; the authority of the priests would be degraded, and heresy would attack every one."

The cardinal reasoned shrewdly, and Gregory had foreseen his arguments. Unable to separate the wives from their husbands peaceably, he employed force. Every place and canton in Germany was the daily scene of contention, of interminable violence, and frequent deaths. The mob fought blindfold in what they conceived to be the cause of Heaven: and, when cases of unheard-of atrocity were recounted to the pope, he said that it was expedient to wink at many things, and forgive them on account of circumstances. In this council also the use of meat on the sabbath day was conditionally prohibited.* The abbots, too, acquired additional privileges, being freed from impositions by the bishops. Oblations were ordered at the celebration of the mass, on pretext of that passage which says, "None shall appear before me empty."† The Normans who had robbed the church of Monte Cassino were excommunicated, because Giordanus, Prince of Capua, had sent a party of soldiers to seize a treasure which had been given to it by the Bishop of Rosselle, a very rich prelate. On the conclusion of peace with Robert Guiscard, this treasure was restored.

In this same year Gregory made an attempt to

* P. Sarpi, Storia del Concilio di Trent.

† Exodus, ch. xxiii. v. 15.

Letter to the King of Norway.

diffuse the light of the Gospel, as Christianity was then taught by the church of Rome, in the kingdom of Norway; and in order to overcome the great obstacles which distance, and the ignorance of the barbarous language, interposed in the way of missionaries to that country, he besought the king to send his young nobles to Rome for instruction, after the example of the Danish monarch, that they might be bound in closer union with the church. Gregory perceived that, to render such distant regions subject to St. Peter, there was no method so secure as that of training up their youth in his own seminary; and the prosecution of this principle by his successors rendered Rome the centre of instruction for all the nations of Europe. From her schools went forth bishops leagued to the Holy See, and subjects more capable of sustaining the pontifical rights in their native countries. It was Gregory's aim to make Rome the capital of religion, and empire, and civilisation; and this eminent position she did indeed attain, and occupy until the magnificent ascendancy of the Italian republics. When Europe was emancipated from the institutions of Gregory, by the invention of printing and other secondary discoveries, the ancient mistress of the world remained unchanged in her doctrines and opinions. When Napoleon, during his short career, called all the youthful nobility of Italy to Paris, to be instructed in the sciences and the art of war, he gave proofs of an elevated mind; although that enervated people blamed him for his conduct. He looked around

him, as Gregory had done before, for means of improving future ages; and, had his plan been prosecuted, slavery might perhaps one day have disappeared from the soil of Italy.

It was in one of these councils that bastards and slaves were prohibited from rising in the church, or advancing beyond the simple habit of a monk, if they had retired into a monastery; the consequence, perhaps, of the superfluity of these holy brethren.*

Henry was now pursuing Rodolph with all his power in every direction; and drove him into Saxony, where his principal strength in troops and partisans lay. He then marched into the states of Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, and Bertholdus, Duke of Carinthia, his two greatest enemies, preceded by terror and desolation, in the midst of which Bertholdus died, and with him the hopes and prospects of his party.

Henry pursues Rodolph into Saxony.

Thus ended the year 1078, and was succeeded by one of still more importance, which opened,

1079. Sixth Roman council.

* It appears from Flavius Biondus, and some other authorities, that there is a question respecting a letter of Gregory's in this year, as to the marriage of a certain Matilda with Ozzo, Marquess of Este, whom she was ordered to divorce, on account of his consanguinity: but the whole affair is involved in such obscurity, as to time, circumstance, and identity of persons on both sides, that it does not seem worth investigation or report. In a MS. Ecclesiastical History by Alessandro Tassoni, existing in the Barberini library, it is positively stated, that Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, was married to an Ozzo of Este, and that in the eighth year of Gregory's pontificate; and that she was compelled to a divorce by the pope, on account of his being a relative in the third degree to her first husband, Godfrey.

Affair of Berenger.

as usual, with a council held at the Lateran, in which the veteran Berenger for three days again sustained, with admirable learning and argument, the defence of his doctrines; from which, invincible by reason, he was driven by force, and constrained to enlarge his confession of the preceding year, and forbidden in future to dispute upon the topic of transubstantiation. It was difficult, certainly, for a man of eighty to change his opinion; and he doubtless died in his original creed, as I have before remarked.*

Excommunications were now scattered, as usual, against bishops and archbishops; and the new Patriarch of Aquileia, who had been promoted by Henry, took an oath of fidelity to the pontiff, expressed in terms which enable us to form an accurate idea of the abject state in which the Vicar of St. Peter held his vassals. Mutual recriminations were made against each other from Henry and Rodolph; and legates were despatched into Germany to adjust the affairs of the empire. These envoys set out with the best intentions to execute their mission; but, as they refused to gratify the desire of Henry by excommunicating his rival, they were soon obliged to return, having effected nothing: upon this the pontiff declared that he would go and settle the matter in person; an intention perhaps equally well meant, and equally ineffectual with the in-

* Becchetti says that Lanfranc converted him by a confutation which he wrote of his opinions: but this must be a mistake; for Lanfranc died in 1079, and could not have answered the last of Berenger's writings. — Storia Eccl.

terference of the legates. The two kings carried on the war with alternate success; and it therefore remained undecided, in spite of all the efforts of the Countess Matilda to make Gregory declare in favour of Henry. He was determined in his heart to level and eradicate the house which had given him so much trouble in his youth, and strewed so many torments for him in his pontificate. For this obstinate determination, thirteen cardinals had already abandoned him, and a vast number of bishops and priests were in daily rebellion; but his hopes sustained him, and his monks encouraged him to adhere firmly to his policy. In this synod he pronounced a magnificent eulogium on the monks, and particularly on those of Clugni, to whom he granted extraordinary privileges and immunities. At their solicitation he liberated the Abbot of Marseilles, who was a prisoner in Germany; and endeavoured to prevent a civil war in Spain between the sons of Raimond, Count of Barcelona: by these, and various other proceedings, evidently putting into execution the decision of his permanent council at Rome—that he was the supreme judge of the earth, and that without his sanction there should be neither peace nor war. He endeavoured, too, to bring under the influence of his policy and power William the Conqueror, King of England, whom he invited to Rome: but that sapient monarch penetrated his real designs in gathering all the Bishops of Christendom around him, and positively forbade any of his clergy to proceed there. At this Gregory took offence; and in

Continued warfare between Henry and Rodolph.

Gregory's determined policy in those contests.

Gregory's correspondence with William the Conqueror.

anger sent on a sudden a legate, with peremptory orders for two bishops from each archbishopric to attend at a synod in the Lateran the following year. The letters of which he was the bearer were written with great policy and moderation; stating, "that the grounds of complaint were very heavy; for that William had done what no pagan would have dared to do, in forbidding the bishops to go to Rome: but that nevertheless, in memory of his ancient friendship, he would forgive him." *

It is not wonderful that Gregory should have conducted himself thus discreetly towards William. He knew that warlike politician too well to run the risk of losing his supremacy over England and France by any unguarded arrogance. It was his favourite maxim, that the church of Rome ought to yield to circumstances and dissemble; and that the same medicine was not good for every stomach. William, in fact, did not comply with the pontiff's wishes, but wrote thus: — "To the most excellent Pastor of the Church, the King of the Angles and Duke of Normandy sends greeting. — Hubert, thy legate, O religious father! on thy behalf has admonished me to remain faithful, not only to thyself, but thy successors, and to think better about the money which my predecessors used to pay to St. Peter. I have granted the second, but not the first. I have never sworn allegiance,

William's letter to Gregory.

* This letter is very remarkable for the expressions which it contains of the pontiff's repentance for having assisted William in the conquest of England.

nor will I; because I do not find that my predecessors ever promised it. The money was negligently collected, whilst I was three years in France; and now that I am returned to my kingdom, I send it you: the rest will be communicated to you by Lanfranc, through your legates. Pray for us, and for our kingdom; for we have loved your predecessors, and we love you above all love, and desire to obey you." * This letter was far from being satisfactory to Gregory, who cared less for money than for homage.

The next act of the pontiff, after having done every thing in his power to keep up the drooping spirits of Rodolph's party, and, with his endless correspondence, attacked the Kings of Denmark and Spain, was to summon a council in Britany, to condemn false penance. A custom had long since been established of absolving sinners who continued in the commission of the same offence. In the enumeration of the offences so absolved were homicide, adultery, perjury, and traffic. The state of Europe may easily be imagined when such crimes were absolved and forgiven, and when amongst them commerce was included, in order to prevent the diffusion of wealth, and knowledge, and intercourse amongst mankind. Every class of society lived in perfect slavery to a few princes, bishops, or abbots; and the commercial towns were described by contemporary

Council in Britany.

* This monarch (William), not content with boldly refusing the homage required by Gregory, openly contemned the papal decrees. — Rapin, Hist. of England, transla. London, 1732, folio, vol. i. book vi. p. 212.

historians in the blackest colours. Donizzone, in his barbarous verses, talks of Pisa as an infernal abode; and it excites the utmost astonishment and contempt to see men of talent and learning avail themselves of the prejudices of superstition to consolidate the ruin of nations.

In the midst of his warlike operations, Henry did not forget his Italian interests. He listened with attention to the political counsels of the Archbishop of Ravenna; and, by a more frequent and immediate intercourse, did every thing in his power to gain the affections of Robert Guiscard, proposing in marriage to his son Conrad, his own daughter. The negotiation was not complete, when it reached the ears of Gregory; who instantly saw that such an alliance would ensure his ruin. He accordingly contrived to prevent it; and in a short time the lady was married to Raimond II., the powerful Count of Barcelona.

Excommunication of Boleslaus, King of Poland.

The end of this year,—which, although a turbulent one, had not cost the Christians much blood,—was signalised by the terrible excommunication of Boleslaus the Cruel, King of Poland; who had slain Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, whilst ministering at the altar, for having reprimanded and excommunicated him. This sentence was attended with the severest stretch of papal severity—the king was deposed, and divine service forbidden in the province.*

* On this subject Fleury says, "Les auteurs Polonois qui ont écrit sa vie, fort au long, quatre cens ans après, disent que le Pape Grégoire VII., aiant appris le meurtre, excommunia le Roi Boleslas et tous ses complices; qu'il mit en in-

In the year 1080, a new instance of Gregory's arbitrary principles was afforded in his forbidding the Duke of Bohemia to read the Liturgy in the German tongue; assuring him, with his own pen, that it was not without a motive that God wished the Scriptures in some places to be obscure; lest, being universally intelligible, they should be brought into contempt, or, being misinterpreted by the ignorant, should lead them into sin. This policy, notwithstanding its repugnance to the Holy Scriptures * and to reason, has never been abandoned by the Roman see; but is rigorously applied on every fitting opportunity.

1080. The seventh Roman council.

On the 9th of March the pope again opened his annual council, which was attended by the usual bishops, who in fact served him as a political body-guard; at which, after renewing the former decrees against investitures and false penance, and excommunicating the Normans, a canon was framed placing the election of the bishops, on occasion of any vacancy, in the hands of the clergy and people, with the consent of the apostolic see,—to which their privilege became forfeited if they acted upon unworthy, secular, or interested motives of fear or favour:

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terdit toute la province de Guesne; qu'il priva Boleslas de la dignité royale, et dispensa ses sujets du serment de fidelité. Mais je n'en trouverois dans les lettres de Grégoire VII.; et je ne sache aucun auteur contemporain qui parle de cette histoire."—*Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1726, 4to., vol. xiii. livre lxii. p. 389.

* St. Paul, first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv.

thus establishing the principle which deprived kings of all influence, and transferring to itself that right which was one day to make it the lord of all kingdoms. The eternal quarrel of Henry and Rodolph was also again taken into discussion; and the pontiff, after listening to an extravagant detail from the emissaries of the latter, of the murders, and rapine, and cruelties of the former, rose up in the council in violent wrath, and after going with mock humility through the details of his own intriguing and ambitious life, with many protestations of his unwillingness to fill the holy office to which God had called him, and the irksomeness of his task,—retracing the oft repeated crimes of Henry, his perjuries and treacheries, and extolling his own acts of mercy and indulgence to that ungrateful monarch,—summed up by excommunicating Henry and dethroning him—absolving all his subjects, dooming him to eternal damnation, and conferring the empire on his rival, Rodolph.* Had

Excommunication and deposition of Henry, March 9. 1080.

* The whole harangue of this imperious pontiff on this occasion is too prolix to interest the reader. I think it well, however, to give the concluding part of it, in which the sentence is passed, that he may judge for himself of the meek and Christian spirit which pervades it:—

"Whence, contemplating the justice and mercy of God, and of his most pious mother, the Virgin Mary, I place under excommunication and bind with the chain of anathema the said Henry, who is called king, and all his faction. And I interdict to him in future, on the part of the omnipotent God, the kingdom of Germany and Italy. I take from him all power, authority, and dignity; and prohibit any Christian from obeying him as king.—Let Rodolph, then, rule and defend the German empire; and let the Germans elect him

not the principles broached, and partially acted upon, in this extraordinary proceeding, been ably and powerfully opposed at all times, and in all places, not only kings and princes would have been insecure on their thrones, but the most abject citizen would not have been safe with his wife and children below his humble roof.— Europe would have fallen into a more degrading vassalage than the oriental nations under the yoke of Mahomet; and one monster-power possessing every thing, the lands would have

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for their king. On your parts, I give and concede to all his adherents the absolution of their sins, and our blessing in this life and the next. And as Henry, for his pride, disobedience, and falsehood, is justly pulled down from the royal dignity; so to Rodolph, for his humility, obedience, and truth, is given the power and dignity of a king. Let, therefore, O most holy fathers and princes! the whole world know and acknowledge, that as you have the power to bind and to unloose in heaven; so, upon earth, you can take away all empires and kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquessates, and countships, and the possessions of all men, or give them according to their merits. You have also often taken away patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics from the depraved and unworthy, and conferred them upon religious men.—Wherefore, if ye judge spiritual things, how much more must we believe that ye can judge temporal ones?—If ye judge angels, who govern all proud princes, what may ye not do with their slaves? Let all kings and princes then, of every age and clime, learn what ye are, and what ye can effect; let them tremble to despise the order of your church; and on the aforesaid Henry so quickly exercise your judgment, that every one may know that he falls not by accident, but by your power. May God so confound them to repentance, that their spirits may be safe at the day of judgment!"

become barren, and the people desolate. Thanks be to Providence, a generous spirit of disdain unmasked these extravagant pretensions; and men arose prepared to combat them from the first moment when they were developed.* But, as if these denunciations had not been sufficient, the anger of the pontiff betrayed him into an act of folly; and he decreed that, in future, Henry and all his supporters should lose their strength in every engagement, and never again be victorious. He then sent a crown of gold to Rodolph, with this inscription,—"Petra dedit Petro — Petrus diadema Rodulfo;" the brilliancy of which would be dimmed by translation.

Henry assembles a council, and deposes Gregory.

Full of indignation at the receipt of these tidings, the outraged monarch, having failed in assembling a council at Mayence, convoked one at Brixen in the Tyrol, in which he recriminated with equal violence against Gregory, accusing him of being self-elected, and not chosen of God; of subverting ecclesiastical discipline; disturbing the empire; wishing to murder the king; disseminating discords, strifes, scandals, and divorces; compromising the Catholic faith as to the eucharist, being an old disciple of Berenger; a cultivator of divination and dreams; and a palpable magician. They then elected

* The truth of these observations is proved by the internal state of Rome and its provinces at this moment; by its tribunals,—by its laws,—by the perpetual commotions between its citizens,—and by that maxim rooted in every Roman heart,—"Papa omnia potest. Potest facere de albo nigrum; et vice versâ."

as pontiff Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the name of Clement III.; and, having received homage from Henry and all the bishops present, gave the crown to the former, and sent an intimation to Gregory to descend from the throne which he had usurped, accompanied by the following letter from Henry, commencing thus: — "Henry, not by usurpation, but by divine ordination, king, to Hildebrand, not an apostolic, but false monk;" and after reproaching him, in the most violent manner, for the exercise of his pontifical authority generally, and to himself personally, goes on to this effect, — "Yet still would we willingly bear all this to preserve the honour of the apostolic see: — but thou ascribest honour to our shame, and fearest not to rise up against the royal authority conferred on us by God, which thou hast dared to threaten to take away from us; as though we had received our kingdom from thee — as though it were in thy hands, and not in God's. Whereas Jesus Christ our Lord called us to reign; although he did not call thee to the priesthood. Whereas thou attainedst that eminence by craft and fraud, and every art abhorrent to the monastic profession: — with money thou acquiredst favour — with favour the sword — and with the sword the seat of peace, which thou disturbest."

Election of the Antipope Guibert.

The king likewise wrote to the Roman people, exhorting them to depose Gregory by force, if he would not abdicate, and to receive Guibert.*

* Vita Arr. IV. et Greg. VII., published by Reimer in 1581.

The antipope after his election sent legates to the principal Christian princes, and amongst them to William of England; who, however, would not acknowledge him. It was an edifying spectacle to behold two artful ecclesiastics disputing the possession of the highest seat of Christendom; employing all kinds of abuse and calumny against each other, and wishing the people to decide their quarrel by shedding their own blood. On Guibert's descent into Italy he was joined by all the Lombard bishops with an army, to defend their mutual cause and that of the married clergy, whose persecution by the people had brought matters to this situation: either that the rebellious mob must triumph, and shake off the ecclesiastical slavery; or else be subdued, and the bishops continue their dominion, the clergy its privileges, and the aristocracy for the most part triumph. On this account, the nobility principally took the side of the bishops and Henry; the lowest classes and the monks, that of Gregory. Thus the country was divided into two distinct factions. To multiply his supporters, Gregory had opened the hermitages, monasteries, and convents to every description of persons so indiscriminately, that the lowest dregs of society, flocking there from hunger and idleness, gradually insinuated themselves by the meanest acts of subserviency into the favour of the highest dignitaries, and of the pope himself; and consequently into the offices and benefices of the church. Promotion thus obtained, and fortunes so acquired, bound their possessors hand and foot

to the support of the papal system. By the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, no secular priest could be ordained without being obliged to have the cure of souls — which was called having a title: by degrees the title was separated from the cure, and affixed itself to the idea of a sufficient income for one's maintenance; so that, — so far from the proposition of the ancient church being complied with, that no clergyman should be idle, or without a cure, — it came to this, that no one should be poor, or without the means of living*: and the funds for the supply of this immense revenue were drawn from every prince and potentate in Europe. The people now thought, by attacking the high nobility and clergy, to regain their ancient liberty; and did not perceive that they were about to subject themselves to a still more capricious tyranny — that of a monk and priest, who claimed the attributes of universal sovereignty and infallibility. It was for this reason that, in the subsequent ages, the priests headed the popular and liberal party, which committed every description of crime under the specious name of religion.

It was, however, essential to Gregory, to enable him to oppose Guibert, previously to make peace with Robert Guiscard; who was by no means indisposed to an accommodation, in consequence of a rebellion which had broken out in some of his cities, and of further views of conquest which

* This abuse had grown to such a height, that it was necessary to make a canon prohibiting the promotion of slaves to the priesthood.

Reconciliation of Gregory and Robert Guiscard.

he meditated. They were accordingly reconciled at Aquino, on the 7th of June, in the presence of Jordan Prince of Capua. The excommunications were exchanged for copious benedictions: and the investiture of his conquests, which he had already received from Nicholas II., was renewed, with the exception of some later ones, of which he was allowed to retain possession, in hopes that he would in time become more reasonable.* The pope was very anxious to restore the Prince of Salerno, whom Robert had deposed; but on this point was obliged to yield. On the other hand, Robert swore to defend Gregory in his right to the papacy,—never more to usurp the property of Saint Peter,—and to pay every year to the Roman church twelve pence of Pavian money for every pair of oxen in his dominions. It is, indeed, pretended by some that Robert received a promise of the empire of Germany if it should be long vacant, and there should be no chance of Henry's re-occupying it; but this story is questionable.

Peace was no sooner concluded, than Gregory communicated the intelligence to all the bishops of Germany and Italy, whose aid he implored against the machinations and attacks of Satan; for so he designated the antipope Guibert, over whom he confidently expected a speedy and splendid victory. He also publicly announced

* "De illa autem terra, quam injuste tenes, sicut est Salernus et Amalfi, et pars Marchiæ Fermanæ, nunc te patienter sustineo, in confidentia Dei omnipotentis et tuæ bonitatis."— *V. Card. de Aragon. Vit. Greg. VII.*

that Henry would be slain within the year, with so much confidence, that if it did not so occur, he would no longer be considered as the true pope.

While the pope was making every preparation for his expedition, a man miserably dressed suddenly appeared before Duke Robert in Apulia, giving himself out as Michael, the deposed Emperor of Constantinople, and requiring his aid against the usurper of his crown*; assigning as the principal cause of his ruin the relationship contracted with Robert, who was odious to all the Greeks. The duke received him with great honour, and clothed him in the imperial habits. According to Anna Comnena, however, this scene was only a fiction, got up by Robert as a pretext to invade the Constantinopolitan empire, fit to excite the people to desperate and sanguinary enterprises.† Gregory himself, perhaps, might have been in the secret; for he was very warm in that emperor's cause, and wrote a kind of circular, exhorting the people to arm in defence of an unfortunate sovereign, driven from his throne and country. Whether fictitious or not, however, Robert prepared a very powerful army, and carried the war into Albania, to execute his imaginary enterprise.

The pope, in order to retaliate upon Guibert, now raised to the archbishopric of Ravenna a certain Richard, a Roman; unmindful altogether

* Guglielmus App. Poem. Romualdus Salernitanus in Chron.

* Anna Comnena in Alexiad. lib. i. p. 28. Greg. VII. lib. viii. ep. 6. Gauf. Malat. lib. iii. v. 13.

of the constitutions on this point which he himself not many years ago had established.

Battle between Henry and Rodolph.

The two kings, having resolved at length to decide their quarrel, came, with all their forces, to an engagement on the 15th of October, on the river Elsther, in the bishopric of Naumburg, in which both claimed the victory: but Rodolph having lost his right hand, (as some would pretend, in punishment for his perjury to Henry,) or being otherwise severely wounded, according to others, died in a few days, and thus frustrated the papal predictions; at which Gregory was much annoyed, and pretended to excuse himself upon the same plea as Damianus made before him, when he foretold the death of Cadolaus—pretending that he alluded not to his body, but to his soul.—Such are the subterfuges of impostors.*

Death of Rodolph.

While these scenes were being carried on in Germany, similar ones, on the same account, were being transacted in Italy. The Countess Matilda, arming in defence of Gregory, threatened from Mantua the whole of Lombardy, which had already risen, and, in its turn, was rushing towards Mantua. The adverse parties came into collision on the very day that the battle was fought in Germany; and the troops of the pious Amazon were beaten and dispersed. The confederate army is said to have been com-

* Marianus Scotus in Chron. Bertholdus, id. Auctor Vitæ Henrici IV., apud Reuberum. Sigeburtus in Chron. Greg. VII. lib. viii. ep. vii. et xx. Bruno. Bell. Saxon. Abb. Urs., an. 1080.

manded by Henry the son of Henry; but, as he is never mentioned subsequently, it is uncertain who he was, since Conrad and Henry, who was afterwards emperor, were at that time both too young.*

Had not the mind of Gregory been fertile in resources, and his heart undaunted, he might have been subdued by so many reverses; whereas he strove to re-animate his depressed adherents, by the discovery of the body of Saint Matthew the Apostle, in the city of Salerno, and by applying to the King of England for succour—but without success.

Gregory's letters to the Abbot of Clugni and the King of Spain, June 7. 1080.

In Spain, a certain monk of Clugni, named Robert, had persuaded King Alfonso to marry a relation of his last wife, and thus to violate the Roman office. The pope, incensed at this contumacy, complained to Hugh, the Abbot of Clugni, saying that he had drawn off a hundred thousand persons to their ancient errors; and ordering him to recall Robert and all his companions instantly, under pain of his most severe displeasure. The monks of Clugni had now begun to abuse Gregory's favour, and to think themselves independent—the usual consequence of human exaltation. The pope also wrote to the king himself to the same effect, and threatening to go to Spain in person to enforce his decrees, if he dared to disobey them. The king, it appears, alarmed at these menaces, yielded implicit obe-

* "Henricus, filius ejus, cum exercitu illustris Comitissæ Matildæ pugnavit; et quia, sicut fieri solet, varius est eventus belli, victoriam habuit." — *Berth. in Chron.*

dience to the author of them, and received the Roman office through all his dominions.

In the course of this year the pope entered into correspondence with the Armenian church, complaining that in the service of the mass it did not mingle water with the wine, and various other formalities; and also confirmed the sentence of the council of Lyons against Manasses, Archbishop of Reims, whom it had deposed. Manasses, resisting this sentence by open force, was driven out by the nobles, clergy, and citizens of his archbisopric, and died a refugee at the court of Henry.

While Gregory was thus occupied with his spiritual weapons, his rival, Guibert, was braving his threats with a powerful army at Ravenna; against which city the projected expedition of the pope was abandoned, its inhabitants having all taken the side of Henry. The communications with Rome were interrupted by the enemy, and the moderate party recommended a compromise: but this advice was rejected by the intrepid pontiff, who, after sending Gisulfus, Prince of Salerno, and the Cardinal Peter Igneus, as his legates into France, to collect the tribute of Peter's pence, assembled a council at Rome, in Lent 1081, in which the usual number of excommunications and depositions were passed.

1081. Eighth council of Rome.

The pope also, about the same time, wrote to Herman, Bishop of Metz, to prove that neither kings nor emperors were exempt from excommunication, as was proved by the authority of all the fathers; while his adversaries replied that

such was not the practice of the ancient church, which never deposed sovereign princes, even though they were heretics or schismatics; and that even the apostate Julian was not so treated; and that the law of the Gospel was to "give unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, and unto God the things which were God's!" He also sent legates into Lombardy, to ascertain the feelings of the people; watch the dispositions of the Princess Matilda; and invite Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, to afford him the succour which he had sworn to Saint Peter; and to instigate others to a similar course, by promising them the absolution of their sins.

Gregory sends legates to Lombardy.

Regardless alike of the affairs of Italy and of Henry, Robert Guiscard was now on his voyage to Constantinople; and shortly afterwards encountered and defeated the Emperor Alexis Commenus in a pitched battle in Thrace, on the intelligence of which event the pope wrote to congratulate him, desiring him to return thanks to God, and remember his vows to the Roman church, whose only hope was in him.

Robert Guiscard marches to Constantinople.

But this hope was illusory: for Henry, finding matters more tranquil in Germany after the death of Rodolph, proposed to make a descent upon Italy, and, sword in hand, to arrest the spiritual thunders of the Vatican. It was his intention to depose Gregory, and replace him by the new pope Guibert; whilst he amused himself with proposing an honourable adjustment of their differences, if the pope would grant him the imperial crown. Indefatigable and zealous in

Operations of Henry.

his military enterprises, after celebrating Easter at Verona, he marched towards Ravenna on his course to Rome. Gregory, strong alone in his own moral energy, abandoned by his adherents and the troops of Matilda, prepared stoutly to defend himself against the invader. Towards the feast of Pentecost, Henry and the antipope were at the gates of Rome.* The sacred city was well prepared for defence; and its walls were lined with armed citizens, mocking and deriding the intrusive pope. They had been gained by the gold and intrigues of Gregory. It was difficult to lay regular siege to so vast and populous a city; and the failure of a sudden assault might have caused irremediable ruin. Henry, therefore, encamped in the plains of Nero, awaiting a favourable opportunity to make himself master of the city: but, a considerable time having elapsed, he drew off a portion of his troops to Lucca, where the faction of the canons having recruited their strength, had excited the city to rebel against Matilda, and join Henry's party.† Having arranged matters satisfactorily there, he marched to Florence, in hopes of reducing that city also to his subjection; but its citizens, whose intestine feuds and commotions some years previously had inured them to, and provided them with arms, made a valiant resistance, and compelled him to retire, on the 13th of July.† He

Henry under the walls of Rome.

1081.

* Card. Arag. Vit. Greg. VII.

† Fiorentini, Memorie della Contessa Matilda.

‡ Giov. Villani, lib. iv. cap. iii. Ammirati, Istoria di Firenze, cap. i.

then threw himself into the Tuscan marshes; and, animated with rage against the Bishops of Rosselli, Populonia, and other places, all adherents of Gregory, he devastated the country, and slaughtered the inhabitants. From thence he passed on to Saturnia, an ancient Etruscan city, which he took by assault. The same fate attended Soana, the birth-place of Gregory: thus indiscriminately pouring forth the vials of his wrath on the humble population, far removed from the ambition, and guiltless of their sovereign's crimes.* The wretched remnant of these people, who escaped from the fire and sword of the enemy, withdrew to Mount Amiata under the guidance of the Aldobrandeschi, the relations of Gregory; and thence extending their incursions to the Ponte Centino, cut off the communications of Henry's army under the walls of Rome with the Tuscan cities which befriended him. Having thus laid waste the Maremma, and particularly the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, Henry returned to Rome, leaving every where the traces of his sanguinary march. Although it is not possible to ascertain with precision the extent of desolation which thus visited what was then especially called the patrimony of St. Peter, it cannot be far from historical truth to assert, that those provinces then received the death-blow to their prosperity and greatness. The Countess Matilda, intent on defending herself in Lombardy from the attacks of the allies, and

* Giannone, Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli. Manenti, Storia della Rep. d' Orvieto.

the mountains of Reggiano being her refuge when she was driven from the plains, entrenched herself there, among impregnable fastnesses, in which she was secure from every attack of the enemy.*

Operations of Gregory at Rome.

Gregory, thus barricadoed in his capital, incessantly encouraged his men to constancy and toils. "We know," said he (in a circular to all Catholics), O dearest brethren! that we have your compassion in our sufferings and tribulations; that you remember us in your prayers,—which, doubt not, we shall do for you."—"And whether one member suffer, says the Apostle, all the members suffer with it."†—"In this still we see the charity of God diffused into our hearts: in that we have only one wish, one desire, one object—that all the impious should repent, and return to their Creator." With such pious and conciliating expressions did he endeavour to console the minds of the devout, while he excited them to personal conflict and bloodshed. The ecclesiastical historians affirm, that ninety thousand men were sacrificed in this war. Cities were destroyed—the country laid waste—convents burned—churches overturned—their treasures ransacked;—and the territory of Rome from that moment began to degenerate into a desert, which no future ages could restore. If such grievous calamities could be subjected to mortal calculation, one should then be sensible of the mischief and the impotence of an ambition

* Donizzone, Vita Matildæ, lib. ii. cap. i.

† First Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. xii. v. 26.

sustained by falsehood and superstition — by monks and women. Yet, nevertheless, the existence of these tragic scenes ceased not with that of their original fomenters; for they lighted up a fire which burned through many generations, and was extinguished only in the grave of Italian liberty and independence.

From the letters of Gregory, it appears that he received from his legates in France a sum of twelve hundred pounds (but whether of gold or silver is not known); and reprimanded many bishops for deferring their journey to Rome to receive the pallium, and visit the tombs of the Apostles. Among the subjects of his displeasure we find Ugo of Die, whom he threatened with excommunication, for having, as his legate, capriciously and unreasonably exercised his authority in France.

While Rome was encompassed by the arms of Henry, the season was advancing, and the diseases incident to it from the malaria of the Campagna visited and thinned his camp. Pressed by this dire necessity, the royal army retired to the neighbouring castles, where they might breathe a purer air; and their retreat gave the pontiff an opportunity of receiving the foreign ambassadors, of despatching his legates, and keeping up his correspondence with all the Catholic bishops attached to his party. Although sadly destitute of men and money, he refused the offers of the excommunicated; and never for a moment relaxed in the severity of the discipline which he

Henry's army retires from Rome.

had established, — being firmly resolved either to triumph completely, or to fall in the attempt.

The Saxons meanwhile, and various other princes and bishops of Germany, to whom Henry had vainly made overtures, assembled a diet, and elected a new king in the person of Ermannus of Luxemburg, on the 9th of August, 1081.* On the news of this event, the partisans of Henry drew up their ranks to interrupt the proceedings of the council; but the new monarch, accompanied by Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, unexpectedly attacked and routed them at Hochstet. He then proceeded to besiege Augsburg, — in which having failed, he entered Saxony, the inhabitants of which country received him favourably, and, on the 16th of December, was crowned, by Sigifred, Bishop of Mayence, and consecrated.

Ermannus elected King of Germany, August 9. 1081.

Ermannus crowned and consecrated, 16th December, 1081.

In spite of these operations in the very heart of his dominions, Henry would not move out of Italy, but established himself at Ravenna for the winter†; and Robert Guiscard, deaf to all the entreaties of the pope and monks, embarked for the conquest of Constantinople. The winds and the Venetians dispersed his fleet; and, having landed at Durazzo with only thirteen thousand

Robert Guiscard undertakes the conquest of Constantinople.

* I am disposed to prefer, on chronological points, the authority of Muratori, whose critical accuracy is unquestionable. Baronius and Pagi place this event in the following year.

† Chron. August. Bruno. Hist. Bell. Saxon. Rubeus, Hist. Ravenna, lib. viii.

men, he defeated seventy thousand Grecians, commanded by the Emperor Alexis Comnenus. Three thousand men, and Constantine, the son-in-law of Robert, perished: on the side of the Normans, Michael the false emperor fell; but the victory was complete, and enabled them to undertake the siege of Durazzo.*

In Italy, the contest now bore the character of a sanguinary civil war. In Tuscany, the two great cities of Lucca and Sienna defended the cause of Henry, in spite of the formidable power of the Countess Matilda. † The republic of Orvieto, on the other hand, fought for the pope, and was followed by numerous factions. Towards the spring of 1082, Henry and Guibert again approached towards Rome, across the duchy of Spoleto, which they ravaged; and besieged the Leonine city on the side of the church of St. Peter, to which they set fire, with the view of drawing off the attention of the enemy to that part while they assaulted it in another. ‡ This design was, however, discovered by the pontiff, who doubled the guards; and, by a sign of the cross, himself extinguished the flames. His enemies, always representing him as a magician, attribute this act to the operation of the devil; and some chronicles of considerable credit make no mention of it. Probably, if by a sign of the cross he could extinguish a great conflagration, he would by

Henry returns to Rome.

* Alber. Mon. in Chron. Lupus Protospa. in Chron.
† Tommasi, Storia di Sienna.
‡ Bert. Cost. in Chron.

the same means have put out that of a civil war, which threatened to consume the gigantic structure he had reared.

Henry at the monastery of Farfa.

On the 17th of March Henry paid a visit to the monastery of Farfa, which was immediately dependent on him, and where he had a number of adherents, who cared but little for papal thunders, and received him with great honours. He was even admitted into the brotherhood, and to the participation of prayers, — a most ancient rite of the Benedictine order. He then besieged and took the castle of Farfa, which held out for Gregory; made Bonizone, Bishop of Sutri, prisoner; and leaving Guibert at Tivoli, with a part of the army, to press the blockade of Rome, returned into Lombardy at the beginning of the summer. While Gregory was thus a prisoner in his capital, he wrote a circular to all the Catholic bishops, intimating his intention to have assembled a general council in some secure place, at which his enemies might have been present, but that Henry had prevented him. He swore that Rodolph had not been elected king by his orders; and that the bishops who had elected him, and he himself, would have been deposed if Henry had been obedient. He seems to have forgotten the letters which he delivered to his legates for the diet of Forcheim, and to have thrown on them the odium of his own operations at that time. Guibert of Tivoli also added to the vexations of the Romans. He wrote to Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, who was constantly with the Countess Matilda, exhorting

Henry returns to Lombardy.

him to abandon her, for the sake of his reputation. The bishop invoked heaven to attest his innocence, and vowed that he never would quit her as long as she was a defender of the true Catholic religion. In fact, he accompanied her in all her warlike encounters with Henry, while he was in Lombardy.* She was at once a bulwark to Gregory, and the rock on which the tempest-tossed vessel of Henry often split. She robbed the churches to feed the coffers of the besieged pontiff, and did every thing possible to sustain his hopes. Thus these two extravagant champions of the Catholic church continued to struggle with adverse circumstances, when succour came to them from an unexpected quarter.

Operations of Alexis, Emperor of Constantinople.

Alexius Augustus, incapable of stemming the impetuous torrent of Robert Guiscard's conquests, sent an ambassador with rich presents to Henry, beseeching him to make a diversion in his favour, by marching an army into Apulia, and the provinces adjoining the Normans. Whether Henry accepted his offer, or Alexius spread such a report, the duke was soon apprized of it; and leaving his son Bohemond in command of the army in Albania, returned to his provinces, and made vigorous efforts to assemble a large force for any contingency. Nor did Gregory omit this opportunity of again calling him to his succour, while he dealt out excommunications and advice to France and Flanders, as though he had been quietly seated in a synod, surrounded by his bishops.

* Baronius.

1083. The year 1083 commenced not under more favourable auspices than the last had closed. Guibert, by invective and scandal, greatly injured the Gregorian party, even with its warmest friends, and Henry returned with recruited force to the siege of the city before Pentecost; and taking a position behind the Vatican by storm, constructed a fort there, which commanded it.* This operation successfully executed, he made himself master of the Leonine city, and even of the Vatican. The citizens perceiving that they must ultimately surrender, and their primary ardour towards the pope being somewhat abated, agreed with Henry for a suspension of arms, and to assemble in the ensuing November a general council of all the Catholic bishops, to whose judgment their affairs should be definitively submitted. The tyrant Gisulphus, ex-prince of Salerno, was the only opponent of this treaty, which was ultimately signed by both parties: and it was settled that Henry should not prevent any bishop from going to Rome; and that the Romans should assemble the council by all possible means, giving as hostages forty sons of their most illustrious families. One does not discover why they should have been accused of having been corrupted by gold and promises in the completion of this arrangement.† They seem to me to have made sacrifices enough in defence of a cause certain to terminate in the destruction of their rights and liberties. According to Bennone,

Henry returns to Rome.

Idea of a general council.

* Bertold. Constant. in Chron.

† Muratori. Benno. Becchetti.

Adelaide, Marchioness of Susa, interposed between Henry and Matilda to check the effusion of blood; and projected a marriage between that princess and Henry's son, which never was accomplished. Gregory, constrained to acquiesce in the treaty, began to issue his letters, and to command his legates to prepare for the approaching council, and painted the conduct of Henry in the blackest colours.

Meanwhile the garrison, which had been left in the fort constructed upon the Vatican, being attacked, and nearly destroyed, by an epidemical complaint, the Romans made themselves masters of it, and thus violated the truce which they had but just concluded. Henry, alarmed at the hostile preparations, availed himself of this circumstance to declare that he was released from his obligations, and arrested the German princes who were going to Rome; among whom were Otho, legate and Bishop of Ostia, Ugo of Lyons, Anselmo of Lucca, and Reginald of Como, all of them his most powerful and bitter enemies. The council, however, was held from the 20th of November for three days; and Gregory spoke with so much fervour and eloquence of the perfidy of Henry, and the constancy that was essential to them under their afflictions, that he made his opponents weep: but the excommunication against Henry was not renewed, although it was extended to those who obstructed the progress of the bishops to Rome.* The king was also accused of perjury and bad faith; but

Violation of the truce.

Ninth council of Rome, 1083.

* Muratori.

no mention was made of the provocation which had been given to him by the infraction of the treaty: the Romans, however, were dissatisfied, — the fear of Henry's army pervaded all hearts; and every man earnestly desired a valid accommodation. They again addressed themselves to the pope, with pressing entreaties that Henry should be received unconditionally, and be treated with as to the imperial crown. The pope, on the other hand, firm in his original purpose, discovered a secret treaty between the Roman princes and Henry, by virtue of which the former were bound to compel the pope to acknowledge and give him the crown.* Had the pope persisted in his refusal, he would now have been expelled, and some one else elected in his place: this was clear; and the discovery troubled, but did not depress, the pontiff. The Romans, unable to succeed in their design, and desiring to discharge themselves plausibly from their oath to the king, had recourse to equivocation. They told Henry that they had not undertaken to see him solemnly crowned, but were only bound to make the pope give him a crown, which they were ready to do whenever he should sincerely repent; but that, if he did not, the pontiff would throw it down to him from the battlements of St. Angelo. The king, justly incensed at this insult, flew to arms. The portico of St. Peter was demolished; and Henry, establishing himself in the city, summoned Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, to appear before him. A report was

Gregory discovers a conspiracy between the Romans and Henry.

The Romans deceive the king.

* Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. xxx.

spread that the inhabitants of Regno, urged by the cruelty of the Normans, had formed a project to revolt; while Henry was to march with his army to join them. Desiderius might possibly have been at the bottom of his plot, and on that account have been cited by the king, of whose two first letters he took no notice, but answered a third, excusing himself from fear of the Normans. Henry, vowing to exterminate the convent and its refractory abbot, instantly marched to Albano, where he met with Jordan, Prince of Capua, who was repairing to his court as a feudatory of the empire; and, being a friend of the abbot's, interceded for him with the king, who admitted him into his presence, in which many weighty matters were discussed. They insisted on the rigorous execution of the decree of Nicholas II. as to the choice of the pontiff.* Desiderius resisted it as most unjust; although it had been passed under the superintendence of Gregory, then the Archdeacon Hildebrand, in a council of one hundred and ten bishops legally assembled.† The Bishop of Ostia, although a prisoner, argued with Guibert, who was also present, in favour of the king against the abbot: and they all of them ultimately induced him to receive the investiture of Monte Cassino from the king, with a golden bull, as was customary.†

Conspiracy of the Normans.

* "Ut nunquam in Romana ecclesia sine imperatoris nutu pontifex fierit."— V. *Leo. Ost. in Chron.*

† Baronius, Ann. Ecc. Becchetti, Sto. Ecc. Tassoni, Sto. Ecc. Muratori, Ann. d' Italia.

‡ Becchetti says that the abbot only received the golden

The Prince of Capua also received the investiture of his states in a similar manner, on payment of a considerable sum.

But Gregory had been informed of the conspiracy of the Normans with Henry, perhaps also by Desiderius; and he did not fail to apprize Robert Guiscard of the circumstance, as a fresh incitement to befriend him, at a time when the Romans, seduced by the promises of Henry, were on the point of abandoning him. The crafty duke, upon this communication, despatched to the pope thirty thousand golden scudi, to secure the fidelity of the Romans, until he should have put down his own rebellious subjects at Cannæ.

The Countess Matilda, quitting her fortresses, now laid siege to the monastery of Nosantola, which, upon the successes of Henry, attached itself to his party, and unexpectedly ravaged all the adjoining country; and in Germany the party of Ermannus, though not formidable, did considerable damage.

The Emperor Alexis, anxious to produce a diversion against the Normans, sent Henry one hundred and forty-four thousand golden scudi, and a hundred pieces of scarlet, to induce him to march against them.* The king employed all this money in gaining over the populace of

bull, without stating any thing definitive; while Muratori speaks of a diploma confirmatory of the possessions of his monastery, with a bull of gold, which corresponded with the form of investiture.

* Anna Comnena, lib. iii. p. 93.

Rome*, which sent ambassadors begging him to enter her gates peaceably, on the 21st of March, 1084. On that day he took possession of the Lateran palace, all the bridges, and every strong place in Rome, except the castle of St. Angelo, to which the pope had time to retire. The greater part of the nobility adhering to Gregory, Henry required fifty hostages from among them. On the following day he caused his antipope Guibert to be elected by the people; and on Palm Sunday he himself was consecrated,— not by the Bishops of Ostia, Ponto, and Albano, according to ancient custom, — but by those of Modena, Arezzo, Bologna, and Cervia.†

Henry enters Rome, March, 1084.

Guibert elected pope by the Roman people.

Henry consecrated.

Guibert assumed the name of Clement III.; and as he was proceeding with the emperor, on Easter-day, in the direction of St. Peter's, they

* Bertoldus Costanza. The Saxon annalist is the only author who states that Henry did actually march into Apulia, of which he took possession.

† Bertol. Vita di S. Gregorio dal Card. di Aragon.— Muratori. The anonymous author of the Life of Henry, apud Reinerium, gives a different account of the taking of Rome. He states that, the soldiers of Henry being repulsed, after an impetuous assault, the besieged retired to rest. The last of the assailants, perceiving on his descent that the walls were forsaken, informed his companions, who suddenly returned to the assault, and entered without resistance. Henry then drew up his army in line of battle, and entered the city, throwing down as much of the walls as was necessary to admit it in this order without breaking his ranks. Having taken possession of the city, he was about to demolish it, when he desisted from his intention, softened by the supplications and contributions of the inhabitants.

This narration has certainly somewhat of a fabulous and romantic air.

encountered a band of Gregory's adherents, who interrupted their passage and slew forty of their party. They nevertheless continued their route; and, in the holy temple of the Apostle, Henry received the imperial crown, and the title of Augustus, from the new pontiff and the people.

Operations of the emperor at Rome.

The emperor then ascended the capitol, and took up his residence as in his own capital.* The *Settisolium* †, by some supposed to be the Septizonium of Severus, an ancient and majestic mausoleum, in which Rusticus, the nephew of Gregory, had strongly intrenched himself, was still remaining; and to this Henry laid siege, when an unexpected event thwarted his design. Gregory, shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, persevered in opposing the imperial arms. His party was every where vanquished; his bishops were deposed, and thrown into prison; he alone

Operations of Gregory.

remained unsubdued, and still breathed life and

* Bertold.

† Flav. thus describes it:—"Id vero Lucii Septimii Imp. opus, reliquiæ cujus contra monasterium S. Gregorii cernuntur, trinos habuit sibi invicem superpositos columnarum ordines, quarum inferiores solo, inhærentes nullis pro sua sublimitate scalis superari nec pro crassitudine ferro igneve corrumpi poterant, fueruntque multæ paucis quæ nunc astant assimiles: contextum vero super eas in contignationem ex marmoreis trabibus, solarium totidem paulo minores sustentabant, inter quas cubicula, cœnacula, et porticus spatiosos fuisse vestigia, nequaquam minima nunc ostendunt."

Baronius says that upon its summit there was a church, called St. Lucia ad Septem Solia, a deanery of the city. — V. Donato, Roma Vetus ac Recens, p. 338. Roma, 1725. V. also Nardini, Roma Antica, tom. iii. lib. vi. cap. xv. reg. x. p. 204. Roma, 1819.

vigour into the almost inanimate remnant of his disheartened friends. While his adversary, who had fixed his abode on Mount Aventine, was attending mass in the church of St. Maria, a man who had concealed himself above a great central beam, under which Henry was kneeling, let fall a large block, previously prepared: but the weight of it was so great, that, in falling, it threw its projector off his balance, and drew him along with it, at a little distance from the emperor, to whom it did no injury. The infuriated populace hunted the unfortunate wretch through the city, and cut him to pieces.*

There are some writers, and among them Bennone, who attribute this attempt at assassination to the pope.†

Gregory, perceiving how little confidence was to be placed in the Roman people, rested his last hopes on Robert Guiscard; who at length, finding that no more time was to be lost, moved from Apulia (and not from Albania, as Baronius says), with his army, by forced marches, to Rome. Desiderius, who held a secret correspondence with both Gregory and Henry, apprized them of this movement, advising the former to stand firm and oppose his enemies, and the latter to think seriously of saving himself. This treachery succeeded. Henry, although beloved by the people, who were disposed to defend him to the last extremity, did not deem it advisable to await his

Robert Guiscard marches to Rome.

* Vita di Arrigo. Bertoldus.

† Benno, Vita di Gregorii VII.

rival, and risk a battle; and he consequently abandoned his position, which was a very strong one. This monarch, who, at the head of his troops, had engaged in many a sanguinary contest, now, for the first time, fled at the bare approach of his enemies. This was the greatest stain in the life of Henry. Before his departure he exhorted the citizens to defend themselves gallantly, and promised shortly to return. The antipope retired to Civita Castellana, and thence to Sienna, which was true to him.

Henry leaves Rome.

Robert meanwhile, whose name alone was a mighty host, was advancing with six thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry. Three days after the departure of the pusillanimous monarch he was within sight of Rome. The adherents of Gregory, particularly the nobles, were on the alert; and, according to an arrangement previously suggested by Cencius, the Roman consul, the city was fired in several places at once, and, while the people were employed in extinguishing the flames, Robert was admitted into it by the Flaminian gate. The Romans are said to have made a feeble and vain resistance. The whole city, from the Lateran to the Colosseum, was a mass of flames and ruins, and subject to all the horrors and excesses of a brutal and triumphant soldiery.* This is the less to be won-

Robert enters Rome and burns it.

Sack of Rome.

* Bertold. Landulfus, Sen. Hist. Med. lib. iv. cap. iii. Romualdus Sal. in Chron. tom. vii. Rer. Ital. Gaufred Malaterra, Hist. lib. iii. c. xxxvii.

dered at, as the army of Robert was in a great measure composed of Saracens, hostile to Christianity, and trained to extermination. Robert instantly proceeded to the castle of St. Angelo, liberated the pope, whom he placed in the Lateran, and, remaining some days afterwards, treated the inhabitants as the most abject slaves, and inflicted upon them all kinds of punishments.

Tenth Roman council, 1084.

Gregory, having thus marched through fire and blood to re-assume his sway, held his last council, from which he fulminated afresh his excommunications against Henry and Guibert; but, soon being convinced that he could no longer maintain himself in a city reduced to the last stage of misery by himself and his adherents, and in the daily sound of the melancholy curses of its wretched inhabitants, he left it with its savage protector. It provokes the indignation of every sensible mind, and is revolting to humanity, to read the account given by Leo Ostiensis of the way in which Gregory celebrated mass and performed miracles in the Lateran, while the blood of an innocent city was flowing around him, and its houses were in flames. The heathen histories of Sylla and Catiline, of the Augusti, Crassi, and Antonines, are depicted in their proper colours by their historians, without palliation or subterfuge for their crimes: whereas we, the disciples of the Gospel, and of that Christ who was the Lamb of peace and innocence, are constrained to blush at the recital of

atrocious actions, invested with the attractions of piety and religion, and set before the eyes of the credulous and simple as the suggestions and operations of devotion and faith.*

Gregory and Robert go to Salerno.

From Rome Gregory and Robert proceeded to Monte Cassino, and thence to Salerno, from which place the duke moved his army against Jordan, Prince of Capua; who, taking advantage of the opportunity, had revolted to Henry, and now returned to his allegiance. Robert then assembled a powerful expedition by sea and land against Constantinople; and, in the month of November, encountering the Grecian and Venetian fleet, he dispersed their vessels, sunk two, and took two thousand prisoners.

Robert defeats the Greek and Venetian fleet.

Henry in Lombardy.

Henry, returning into Lombardy, ordered the bishops and princes to assemble an army, under the pretext of again marching to Rome; instead of which he attacked the Countess Matilda, invaded the Modenese, and laid siege to Sorbura.

Victory of Matilda.

Matilda, who had not sufficient forces to meet him in open battle, having ascertained, by her

* Malaterra affords another example of the blind and bigoted partiality of the ecclesiastical historians, and of the spirit of faction, in his lines on this subject: — "Leges tuæ depravatæ, plenæ falsitatibus. In te cuncta prava vigent, luxus, avaritia, fides nulla, nullus ordo. Pestis simoniaca gravat omnes fines tuos. Cuncta sunt venalia. Per te ruit sacer ordo, aqua primus prodiit. Non sufficit papa unus, binis guades intulis. Fides tua solidatur, sumptibus exhibitis. Dum stat iste, pulsas illum: hoc cessante, revocas. . . . . Illo istam minitaris, sic imples marsupias." — Cap. xxxviii. lib. iii.

spies, that the enemy had invested that place without sufficient precautions, attacked him by night, and gained a complete victory, in the month of July. Henry, by this diversion, having lost a considerable number of men through the negligence of his generals, proceeded, in August, to repress the factions which were raging in Germany. Hermannus, under the guidance of Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, had recovered his confidence, and his followers had increased; but Henry, on his arrival, took Augsburg, and some other places of minor importance.

Henry returns to Germany.

When Gregory learned the good tidings of Matilda's success in Lombardy, he despatched his faithful Anselmo with power to absolve all those who, having been excommunicated, desired pardon and reinstatement in his favour. He also wrote to the King of England, desiring him to set his brother Otho at liberty; saying, that his imprisonment obscured all the virtues of his reign: for that they whom the Lord had anointed were inviolable; and that he had respected the priests, who were the pupil of the eye of Jesus Christ. To this eloquent and angry appeal William turned a deaf ear; for to that politic and suspicious prince the crimes of Otho were unpardonable. Left in the charge of the kingdom while William was in Normandy, he had devoted his whole attention to the acquiring of money, palaces, cities, and adherents, with the view of assembling an army and proceeding to Rome—perhaps to assist Gregory, or elect some

other pope in his place. It was for this that William had imprisoned and kept him in close custody, until, at the point of death, having released all the prisoners in his dominions as an act of grace, he obtained his liberty.

1085. In the following year commenced the discussions in Germany as to the propriety of recognising and communicating with Henry; to which the Saxons were opposed through their organ, Gebehard of Salzburg; whilst Vecilo, Bishop of Mayence, supported it. These discussions were excited by Otho, Bishop of Ostia, whom the king had set at liberty; and who, arriving in Germany in the quality of legate, promulgated the decree of the synod as to the excommunication of the king. These colloquies were renewed at Quedlinburg, in presence of Otho and Ermannus, with the bishops of their faction; and, after much idle disputation, the ordination of schismatics was declared null and void. The opinion of the Bishop of Mayence, who asserted that secular persons robbed of their possessions were not subject to ecclesiastical authority, that no one could be excommunicated for his private offences, and that excommunicated persons might be received without reconciliation, was condemned. Continence to priests was again prescribed; laymen were forbidden to touch consecrated vessels; and such as appropriated to themselves tithes or church property without the legal concession of their rightful owners were excommunicated. Fasts

Council of Quedlinburg.

were ordained for Lent and Pentecost; and the use of milk was forbidden at that time. Decrees were also made on several other points of discipline,—particularly that, in the celebration of the mass, an unequal number of signs of the cross should be made to indicate the mystery of the Trinity; and Henry, Guibert, and all the bishops on their side, were excommunicated afresh.

Synod of Mayence.

The schismatics, in their turn, were by no means idle. They held a council at Mayence three weeks afterwards, in which they precisely retaliated the same measures upon their opponents; in pursuance of which several bishops were actually deposed.

But the finger of God was preparing a more fatal visitation than could be inflicted by any acts of human ordination. A great famine added pestilence to the horrors of civil war; and of that pestilence Gregory was among the first victims. He was summoned, while he was staying at Salerno, to render his last account to that eternal Judge before whom no excuse or subterfuge avails. This melancholy exile had afflicted his spirits; and, falling sick, he died on the 25th May, 1085. Sigebertus gives the following account of this event: — "Of this pope (Gregory) we find it thus written.—We wish all you who are interested in the church to know, that the Apostolic Lord Hildebrand, who was also called Gregory, coming to his end, called to him one of the two cardinals whom he greatly loved in preference to the others, and confessed

Death of Gregory.

that he had grievously sinned against God and St. Peter, and the whole church, in the administration of the pastoral charge which was entrusted to him; that, at the instigation of the devil, he had raised up hatred and contempt against all mankind; and that the sentiments which he had diffused throughout the Catholic world for the increase of Christianity had originated from himself, and not, as he had often averred, from God. He then directed this confession to be sent to the emperor and the whole church, that he might obtain their pardon; and as he perceived that his end was approaching, he dressed himself in white garments, loosened the bonds of all his edicts against the emperor and all Christian people, living or dead, clergy or laymen, and ordered his people to depart from the house of Theodoric and repair to the emperor's friends." This account is confirmed by Cardinal Bennone and others; but some historians partial to Gregory assert, that, being asked during his illness to name his successor, he mentioned three, — Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino; Otho, Bishop of Ostia; and Ugo, Archdeacon of Lyons; recommending the choice of the former on account of the great distance at which the others were placed. Being also pressed to absolve all whom he had excommunicated, he consented, with the exception of Henry, Guibert, and the principal authors of the schism. His last words were these: "I loved justice and hated iniquity,—wherefore I die in exile."

On his death-bed he gave his mitre, which afterwards worked very great miracles, to Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, his intimate friend.

The reader must reconcile or select whichever he prefers of these two narrations, which I have faithfully adduced for the sake of impartiality and justice. For my own part, I cannot easily imagine how a man of such a temperament as his, — one who had lighted up so many civil wars in Germany and Italy, who had seen his native land destroyed, his capital burnt, and a vast portion of his people and the nations leagued against him, — could die in tranquillity and resignation, if, indeed, it be true, that the conscience of the evil doer is his worst tormentor.

Gregory VII.* was of small stature, but gigantic mind, lively imagination, intrepid courage, and of perseverance utterly incapable of yielding to any difficulties which he might encounter in his enterprises. Of an imperious disposition, quick, decisive, rash, resolute, and regardless of results, he set the first example of doing that which he desired others to do.† He was especially learned in the divine sciences‡, in the rights, laws, and customs

* This character of Gregory will be found materially to correspond with, although it is not intended as a servile adoption of, the one given him by Maimbourg, in the "Décadence de l'Empire," liv. iii. p. 220. édit. de Hollande, quoted by Bayle.

† "Quod verbo docuit exemplum demonstravit." — *Otto. Frising.*

‡ "Virum sacris litteris eruditissimum." — *Lambert. Schaffnab.*

of the Roman Catholic church. In short, his impetuous and inflexible humour did not allow his zeal to be accompanied by the moderation which his predecessors had displayed. If he had possessed this moderation, much blood would have been spared * ; for the quarrel between the Holy See and the empire divided Europe into two factions, whose bitterness and animosity knew no bounds, and led to that temporal dominion of the popes, which has cost as much blood as the conquests of republican Rome.†

Death of the Archbishop of Milan, and several bishops.

On the same day in which the death of Gregory happened died Tedaldus, or Tibaldus, Archbishop of Milan, and the greatest schismatic in Italy; and about the same time died also the Bishops of Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Pistoia,

Death of Robert Guiscard.

and Robert Guiscard. The latter was at the siege of Cephalonia, where he suddenly expired, on the 17th of July, to the great consternation of his whole army, which instantly dispersed. This atrocious man, who may more justly be called the scourge of humanity than a hero, the oppressor alike of the rich and poor, who recognised no law but that of the sword‡, has nevertheless, by some writers, been depicted as a saint, at whose tomb miracles were worked.

But the fury and vicissitudes of war, instead of being abated and closed when these great actors had disappeared from off the stage, were renewed with fresh vigour under their successors; and

* The jesuit Gretserus. † Bayle, art. Grégoire VII.
‡ Muratori. Sal. in Chron. Romual.

Henry and Matilda still carried on their interminable contest. The further recital of these events is foreign to my subject; for the spirit of Gregory had flown, though the work of its withering influence was unfinished.

Enclosed in a marble urn, and buried in the cathedral church of St. Matthew at Salerno, Gregory VII. lay forgotten for two hundred years, until John of Procida, the famous author of the "Sicilian Vespers,"—regarding him, perhaps, as the defender of Italian liberty,—erected round the urn a magnificent chapel, called the Chapel of St. Michael.* This chapel, which had fallen into ruin, was repaired in 1574† by Mark Antony Colonna, who, causing the grave of Gregory to be opened, and discovering the corpse in perfect preservation, enclosed it again in a similar urn, with an appropriate inscription, but without the epithet of Saint. The Bollandists pretend that Colonna was ignorant of the tablet of bronze which Anastasius IV. caused to be painted sixty years after the death of Gregory, with the portraits of that pontiff, and the Virgin and other saints, inscribed with the desired appellation; a proof that Gregory had acquired that glorious distinction: and after the death of Colonna, Gregory XIII., in correcting the Roman calendar in 1584, corrected also the Martyrology, and enrolled our hero in the sacred catalogue. Informed of this circumstance by Baronius, the

* Bolland, Acta Stm. † Fleury says in 1577.

canons of Salerno instituted a festival in memory of the cardinalate which they had received from him, — of the red mantle and damask mitre. This festival being confirmed by Lucius III., his corpse was placed in the sacristy. Clement VIII. had the head severed from the body, and placed it in a silver urn upon an altar, purposely erected and consecrated. Some authors, indeed, say that it was Colonna himself who paid him these honours; but, in that case, it must have been two years before the correction of the calendar by Gregory XIII. However this may have been, John Bellarmine, Archbishop of Salerno, certainly obtained the pontifical brief for the celebration of the office in 1609-10 from Pope Paul V.* This archbishop erected also a statue to him on his altar. In 1614, when Lucius Sanse-

* Mosheim says, "The Roman church worships him as a saint; though it is certain he was never placed in that order by a regular canonisation. Paul V., about the beginning of the thirteenth century, appointed the 25th day of May as a festival sacred to the memory of this pretended saint; but the emperors of Germany, the King of France, and other European princes, have always opposed the celebration of this festival, and have thus effectually prevented its becoming universal."— Cent. xi. p. ii. ch. ii. p. 18.

"Bénoit XIII., dans le dix-huitième siècle, fixa le jour destiné à sa fête, et fit ajouter au breviaire des leçons où on le canonisoit . . . . . La France surtout s'opposa à ce retour vers la barbarie . . . . Cependant le culte de Grégoire s'établit en Italie, et ses leçons y furent chantées solemnellement."— *L'Esprit de l'Eglise*, De Potter, tom. iii. p. i. liv. ii. p. 127.

His name was taken out of the catalogue by Napoleon, at the instigation of some Tuscan bishops.

verinus was restoring this altar, a certain cardinal of Soana, whose name I cannot discover, obtained one of Gregory's arms, which he had encased in an urn of silver, and which is now venerated in the cathedral of that city. This genuine account, which is taken from the Bollandists, shows us minutely every step in the exaltation of the memory and reputation of this extraordinary man. As a stone thrown into the bed of the Arno in distant ages past, has grown, by the accumulated deposit of the slow but certain course of that river, into a mighty rock; so has the sanctity of Gregory's character accumulated, in the dark atmosphere of ages of ignorance and superstition, till it has become a beacon to the Roman Catholic world.

The real character and political career of this extraordinary man may, it is hoped, be now accurately deduced from the foregoing pages, in which the reader has been made acquainted, impartially, with the various and conflicting opinions concerning him of his principal encomiasts or detractors. Amongst the former, Pandulfus of Pisa disgusts us by his fulsome adulation and blind partiality; while the excess to which the abuse and scurrility of Bennone and the Bishop of Alba has extended deprives them altogether of any title to credit which they might otherwise possess; and they are referred to here, not as unimpeachable evidence against the object of their calumnies, but to satisfy the demands of historical fidelity, and disabuse the reader of the spirit of prejudice or party.

Gregory VII. filled the papacy eleven years, ten months, and twenty-six days.*

* Manenti, in his "Storia d' Orvieto," states that Gregory ennobled his family in the year 1083, and endowed it with large possessions in the Maremma Toscana; but, as he quotes no authority for his statement, it is not entitled to much credit. He certainly was the founder of that family of the Counts of Soana and Pitigliano which had such extensive domains in Tuscany, and gave the republic of Sienna so much annoyance.

THE END.

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